AN
EARLY HISTORY OF VAIŚĀLĪ

(From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Vajjian Republic, *circa* 484 B. C.)

BY

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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI :: PATNA :: VARANASI

THIS BOOK IS

D E D I C A T E D

TO

THE SACRED MEMORY OF

THE LATE PROFESSOR

ANANT SADASHIV ALTEKAR,

M. A., LL. B, D. LITT

(A. D. 1898—1959)

PREFACE

Vaiśālī occupies an important place in the early history of India. This region, situated just to the east of the Gaṇḍaka (the ancient Sadānīrā), was Aryanised earlier than South Bihar. It developed as a centre of agriculture and trade while its forests attracted ascetics and religious teachers. A great experiment in the field of government was made here when a republic, the most well-known in ancient India, was founded by the Vrijis (Vajjis) or the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī. The region witnessed a religious upheaval of profound significance and interest in the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura in the vicinity of the Vaiśālī City and part of Greater Vaiśālī was the birthplace of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas. The capital of the Lichchhavi republic was a favourite resort of Gautama Buddha and other wandering ascetics of the time. As this region, comprising roughly the Muzaffarpur and Champaran districts of the modern Bihar State and the adjoining Nepalese Terai, had no systematic and detailed history so far, there is ample justification for the publication of the present book.

The work consists of nineteen chapters. The first chapter is introductory. The remaining ones are divided into three Books. :—

Book I (chapters 2-8) deals with the Monarchy on the basis of ancient Indian historical traditions.

Book II (chapter 9) is an interlude between the Monarchy and the Republic. This was a dark age of Vaisalian history for which we have only indirect references and no details at all.

Book III (chapters 10-19) is devoted to the Republic of the Vajjians or the Lichchhavis and deals with its chronology, constituent clans, territory and capital, political history, constitution, religious history (Buddhism, Jainism and other religious systems), society, and fall.

This work represents a substantial part of my thesis (written from July, 1954 to January, 1957) on which the Patna University awarded the Ph. D. degree on October 21, 1957; the degree was conferred on January 22, 1958. I have made this book up-to-date by utilising subsequent publications. The chapter on Buddhism has been re-touched while that on Jainism has been thoroughly recast, especially the portion concerning the birthplace of Mahāvīra where I have quoted opinions of competent authorities on the subject, given extracts from the early Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī in the Videha country, and added a new section on 'the vicissitudes of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and centre and the circumstances in which the Jainas came to forget the birthplace of their last Tīrthaṅkara.'

While carrying on researches I had the privilege of receiving constant and ungrudging help from Dr.A. S. Altekar, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, who later became Director of K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute (Patna) and retained this post till his death (November 25, 1959). The writing of each chapter was preceded by discussion with him on its subject-matter. And when my manuscript was ready, he obliged me by going through it in a thorough manner, correcting mistakes and making numerous useful suggestions. I should, however, make it clear that for the views expressed in this book I am solely responsible and nobody else. Dr. Altekar also helped me in procuring some rare volumes,which I had required for this book, from the National Library, Calcutta.

I am thankful to the authorities of the Patna University for having granted me leave from January 8, 1955 to May 10, 1956 and from November 24 to December 18, 1956 on half average pay for carrying on and completing my researches on North Bihar history.

Another quarter from where I got help and co-operation are the Patna College Library, the Patna University Library, the library of the Ancient Indian History and Culture (now Archaeology) Department of the Patna University, that of the Archaeology Department of the Government of

India (Patna), the Bihar Research Society Library, the Sharada Sadan Library (Lalganj, Muzaffarpur district) and the Jaina Siddanta Bhavana Library (Arrah).

The Patna University History Publication Fund has advanced me a loan of one thousand rupees in connection with the publication of this book for which I am thankful to the Executive Committee of the Fund and its Chairman, Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Patna University. Dr. Sharma took further interest also in the publication of the book.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Ayodhya Prasad Jha, Manager, Hindustani Press, Patna, who has assisted me in the correction of the proofs, to Mr. Dwijendra Narayan Jha, Research Scholar, Patna University, for his help in preparing the Index, to Mr. Sundar Lal Jain of M/s. Motilal Banarsidass for undertaking the publication of the work, and to the last-named gentleman and Mr. Mulk Raj Suri, Manager of Shri Jainendra Press (Delhi), for the courtesy with which they received and carried out my frequent suggestions and alterations.

In spite of our best efforts, a few printing mistakes, though generally not of a very serious type, have crept into the book for which I crave the indulgence of the readers.

PATNA,
THE INDIAN REPUBLIC DAY,
JANUARY 26, 1952.

YOGENDRA MISHRA

TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration scheme followed in this work the following are the main points :—

आ	ā	ई	ī	ऊ	ū
ऋ	ṛi	ए	e	ऐ	ai
ओ	o	औ	au	ङ	ṅa
च	cha	छ	chha	ञ	ña
ट	ṭa	ठ	ṭha	ड	ḍa
ढ	ḍha	ण	ṇa	श	śa
ष	sha	स	sa		

Anusvāra ṁ

Visarga h

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. = *Aṅguttara-Nikāya.*
A.A. = *Manorathapūraṇī, ṅ uttara Commentary.*
A.B.O.R.I. = *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
Ag = *Agni-Purāṇa.*
A.G.I. = *Ancient Geography of India.*
A.I.H.T. = *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.*
A.I.S.H. = *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* (= Ancient Indian Social History).
Ait.Br. = *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.*
Aṅg. Nik. = *Aṅguttara-Nikāya.*
Aṅguttara = Ditto.
A.Ś. = *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.
A.S.I.A.R. = *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports.*
A. S. S. = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
A.V. = *Atharva-Veda.*
Baudhāyana = *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.*
Baudh. Śr. Sū. = *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.*
Bd = *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.*
Beal = *Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr. by Samuel Beal.
Bhāg = *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.*
Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. = *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*
Bhavishya = *Bhavishya-Purāṇa.*
Bh.Sū. = *Bhagavatī-Sūtra.*
Bib. Buddh. = Bibliotheca Buddhica (Series).
Bib. Ind. Series = Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Biography of Dharmasvāmin = *Biography of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk pilgrim.*
Br = *Brahma-Purāṇa.*
Buddhist Records = *Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr. by Samuel Beal.
C. H. I. = *Cambridge History of India.*
Commy. = Commentary.
C.V. = *Chullavagga.*
D. = *Dīgha-Nikāya.*
D.A. = *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Dīgha Commentary.*
Dh. A. = *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (*Dhammapada Commentary*).

Dial. = *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Eng. tr. of *Dīgha-Nikāya*).
Dialogues = Ditto.
Divyāvad = *Divyāvadāna*.
D.K.A. = *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*
D.N. = *Dīgha-Nikāya.*
D. P. P. N. = *Dictionary of the Pāli Proper Names.*
Education = *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India.*
E. I. = *Epigraphia Indica.*
E. R. E. = *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*
Fleet = *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*) by J.F. Fleet.
Gar = *Garuḍa-Purāṇa.*
Geog. Dict. = *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.*
Geographical Dictionary = Ditto.
Gradual Sayings = *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (Eng. tr. of *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*).
Gupta Inscriptions = *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors* by J. F. Fleet.
H. C. Raychaudhuri = *An Advanced History of India* (Chapter written by him).
Homage = *Homage to Vaiśālī* (*Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha*).
Horner = *The Book of the Discipline* (Eng. tr. of *Vinaya-Piṭaka*) tr. by I. B. Horner.
H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental Series.
Hv = *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa.*
I.A. = *Indian Antiquary.*
I. H. Q. = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
Ind. Ant. = *Indian Antiquary.*
Index = *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* by S. Sörensen.
J. = *Jātaka.*
J. A. O. S. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J. A. S. B. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
Jāt. = *Jātaka.*
J. B. O. R. S. = *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (which was later called and is still continuing as)
J. B. R. S. = *Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
J. D. L. = *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
J. I. H. = *Journal of Indian History.*
J. P. T. S. = *Journal of the Pali Text Society.*
J. R. A. S. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Kap.=*KappaSutta* (=Jaina *Kalpa-Sūtra*).
Kāṭhaka Saṁ.=*Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā.*
Kh. A.=*Khuddakapāṭha Commentary.*
Kindred Sayings=*The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (Eng. tr. of *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*).
Kshatriya Clans=*Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India.*
Kūr=*Kūrma-Purāṇa.*
Lg=*Liṅga-Purāṇa.*
Life=*Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Parts I and II (giving the life of Mahāvīra) by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya.
Life of Mahāvīra= Ditto.
M.=*Majjhima-Nikāya.*
M. A.=*Papañchasūdanī, Majjhima Commentary.*
Majjh. Nik.=*Majjhima-Nikāya.*
Manu=*Manu-Smṛti.*
Mārk=*Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa.*
Mat=*Matsya-Purāṇa.*
Mbh=*Mahābhārata.*
M. N.=*Majjhima-Nikāya.*
Nāradīya=*Nāradīya-Purāṇa.*
Pad=*Padma-Purāṇa.*
Pañch. Br.=*Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa.*
P. H. A. I.=*Political History of Ancient India*, sixth edition (Calcutta, 1953).
P. T. S.=Pali Text Society.
Pur.=*Purāṇa.*
Rām=*Rāmāyaṇa.*
Ratilal N. Mehta=*Pre-Buddhist India* by Ratilal N. Mehta.
Rockhill=*Life of the Buddha* by W. W. Rockhill.
Ṛ. V.=*Ṛig-Veda.*
S.=*Saṁyutta-Nikāya.*
S. A.=*Sāratthappakāsinī, Saṁyutta Commentary.*
Saṁy. Nik.=*Saṁyutta-Nikāya.*
Sankrityayana=*Buddhacharyā* by Rahula Sankrityayana.
Śat. Br.=*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.*
S. B. B.=Sacred Books of the Buddhists (Series).
S. B. E.=Sacred Books of the East (Series).
S. H. B.=Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series (Colombo).
Sircar=*Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation* (Vol. I) ed. by Dines Chandra Sircar.

Śiv=*Śiva-Purāṇa.*
Skanda=*Skanda-Purāṇa.*
S. N. A.=*Sutta-Nipāta Commentary.*
S. N. Singh=*History of Tirhut* by Shyam Narayan Singh.
Sörensen=*Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* by S. Sorensen.
Taitt. Br.=*Taitt rīya-Brāhmaṇa.*
Taitt. Saṁ=*Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.*
The Ājīvikas=*History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* by A. L. Basham.
Ud. A.=*Udāna Commentary.*
Vā=*Vāyu-Purāṇa.*
Vāmana=*Vāmana-Purāṇa.*
Varāha=*Varāha-Purāna.*
Ved. Ind.=*Vedic Index.*
Vin.=*Vinaya-Piṭaka,* 5 Vols., ed. Oldenberg (Williams and Norgate).
Vinaya=*Vinaya-Piṭaka.*
Vish=*Vishnu-Purāṇa.*
Watters=*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A. D.) by Thomas Watters.

Other abbreviations are readily intelligible.

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INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

THE LAND

In ancient times two states flourished in North Bihar (*i.e.*, Bihar north of the Ganges), *viz.*, Vaiśālī and Videha, which were conquered by Magadha under Ajātaśatru and Mahāpadma Nanda respectively in the beginning of the fifth (*circa* 484 B.C.) and the middle of the fourth centuries B.C. (*circa* 347 B.C.). Of these, Vaiśālī included roughly the districts of Champaran and Muzaffarpur, and Videha the district of Darbhanga, the northern part[1] of the Monghyr district, the district of Saharsa, the northern part[1] of the Bhagalpur district and the district of Purnea. The Nepalese Terai also, contiguous with these areas, formed part of these states.

Vaiśālī was the name of the state as well as its capital. This, however, is not true of its eastern neighbour. The most ancient name for this region available in literature is Videha. This term is used in three senses—(1) the Videha tribe which inhabited the area east of the Gandak; (2) the Videhan state (with its capital at Mithilā usually identified with Janakpur in the Nepal Terai situated at a distance of 14 miles from Jaynagar Railway Station on the Indo-Nepal border); and (3) Videha as a geographical term which included the Vaiśālī state also, along with the Videhan state, within its borders. It was in this last sense that Kuṇḍagrāma (near Vaiśālī), the birthplace of Mahāvīra, is placed in Videha[2] and that the mothers of Mahāvīra and Ajātaśatru, who were the sister and daughter respectively of Cheṭaka, the

1. *I. e.*, the part north of the Ganges.

2. S. B. E., 22 (Oxford, 1884), pp 194, 256. Also in medieval biographies of Mahāvīra (for which see *infra*), *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* (explained below) and *Homage to Vaiśālī* (Vaisali, 1948), p. 92 and notes 4 and 5 (where Vaiśālī is said to be the capital of Videha). *Cf.* H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition (Calcutta, 1953), p. 118 and n. 4.

Lichchhavi leader of Vaiśālī,[1] are called Videhadattā[2] and Vedehī (Vaidehī)[3] respectively.

There is no controversy whatsoever with regard to its northern and southern[4] frontiers. The Sadānīrā river acted as the boundary[5] between Videha[6] or Vaiśālī and its western neighbour Kosala; but its identification has been a matter of some dispute. It is identified by the Indian lexicographers with the Karatoyā[7] (modern Kurattee which flows through the Bogra district in East Bengal), but this seems to be too far east. On the ground that the *Mahābhārata* (II. 20. 27) distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīrā, it is held by Oldenberg[8] and Pargiter[9] that the Sadānīrā was the Rāptī. But the authors of the *Vedic Index*[10] question the truth of the Epic tradition and agree with Weber[11] in taking it to be the Gaṇḍakī (the Kondochates of the Greek geographers). The Sadānīrā flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain[12] and formed the boundary between Kosala and Videha[13] and its waters are never exhausted[14]. This last item of information from the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* shows that it must correspond to the Great Gandak of the present day.[15] The extent of the western boundary of Videha land (or Tairabhukti) is also indicated in the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*[16], a late work : "From the bank of the Gaṇḍakī to the forest of Champā (*i.e.*, Champaran), the country is called Videha, also known as Tairabhukti." For understanding the implication of this statement we should proceed from the south (confluence of the Gaṇḍakī and the Ganges, *i.e.*, the southernmost point of

1. S. B. E., 22, p. XV (genealogical table).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 194, 256.
3. In Buddhist literature (see *infra* for a discussion on this point).
4. The Ganges formed the southern boundary of Videha (M., I, p. 225).
5. *Śat. Br.*, 1. 4. 1. 17.
6. Using the word in a wide sense
7. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 15, new ed. (Oxford, 1908). p. 24.
8. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (London, 1882), p. 398, n.
9. Pargiter, J. A. S. B., 1897, p. 87.
10. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 421-422; also pp. 298-299.
11. *Indische Studien*, I, pp. 172, 181. *Cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 12, new ed. (Oxford, 1908), p. 125 (*s v.* Great Gandak).
12. *Śat. Br.*, 1. 4. 1. 14.
13. *Śat. Br.*, 1. 4. 1. 17.
14. *Śat. Br.* 1. 4. 1. 16 ("Even in late summer that river, as it were, rages along : so cold is it").
15. D. R. Bhandarkar, A. B. O. R. I., 12 p. 104. H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests that the "Sadānīrā may be Burhi Gandak" (P. H. A. I., p. 53, n. 1).
16. The Sanskrit text is quoted by S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), p. 2, n.

the Gaṇḍakī), along the Gaṇḍakī river, to the north (the Champaran forest).

From the Gupta period (fourth-fifth centuries A. D.) onwards the Vaiśālī-Videha region came to be known as Tīrabhukti (or Tairabhukti in some texts). This name is found on some of the Basarh seals[1] as one of the provinces of the Gupta empire. The *Bṛihad-Vishṇupurāṇa*[2] knows the very sacred country of Tairabhukti which extended from the Ganges to the Himālayas and from the Kauśikī to the Gaṇḍakī. Vāmana[3] who lived in the eighth century A.D. mentions Tīrabhukti in his *Liṅgānuśāsana*, while this is offered as a synonym for Videha (or Vaideha) in the *Trikāṇḍaśesha*[4] written by Purushottamadeva of about the twelfth century. The inclusion of Vaiśālī in Tīrabhukti is proved by an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. which reads as *Tīrabhuktau Vaiśālī-Tārā*.[5] The *Vividhatīrthakalpa*,[6] a Jaina work of the fourteenth century A. D. by Jinaprabha Sūri, records the name of the region as Tīrabhukti. The *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*[7], which mentions only the western boundary of this region as shown before, makes Videha and Tīrabhukti as synonymous. The author of the *Bhṛiṅgadūta*[8] (17th century A. D.) says that Tīrabhukti is so called because it extends up to the bank of the river Ganges. The name of the present Tirhut Division (which consists of the four districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Saran) is reminiscent of ancient Tīrabhukti.

According to the geographical conceptions of the Brāhmaṇas and the Jainas Videha was situated just to the east of Kosala and the Sadānīrā (the Gandak in our opinion) and included Vaiśālī and Kuṇḍagrāma. The Buddhist conception of Videha seems to differ from the above because the Buddhists mention Vajjiraṭṭha (Vṛiji-rāshṭra) and Videha as two distinct geographical (and political) entities. Vaiśālī (an older name) and Vṛijirāshṭra (called after the republican Vṛijis or Vajjis) are identical as names of the same state.

1. A. S. I. A. R., 1903-04 (Calcutta, 1906), p. 109.
2. See S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p. 2, n. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. V, n.
4. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1924, p. 509.
5. A. S. I. A. R., 1903-04, p. 82.
6. *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 92.
7. S. N. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

SECTION II

THE SOURCES

The sources for the early history of Vaiśālī are of a literary character and may be divided under four headings, *viz.*, Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina and foreign literature. No systematic history is available anywhere and only stray references are found on whose basis the edifice is to be constructed. Even these sources are generally late. Still another limitation is that fact and fiction are mixed up in such a way that on several occasions it is very difficult to extricate history from fables or fable-like stories.

The oldest part of the Brahmanical literature are the Vedic texts sub-divided into the *Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣhads*. Of these, the first two contain useful references to certain personalities connected with Vaiśālī and the Aryan colonisation of the area lying east of the river Sadānīrā (Gaṇḍaka). They, however, do not go beyond this.

Our main sources for the history of Vaiśālī are the Epics and the *Purānas*. They are dated by some scholars according to the latest indications which can be discovered in them, and they are sometimes (if not too often) rejected as incompetent witnesses for the events of any earlier period. "The elementary fact that the date, whether of a building or of a literary production, is not determined by its latest addition is in their[1] case generally ignored."[2] The different parts of the Epics[3] and the *Purāṇas* were written at different dates by different persons or sets of persons and the date of every part must be determined on its own account. But the nucleus of every Epic and *Purāṇa* existed at a very early date; and though the Epic-Puranic literature got its present form much later, it contains older tradition.

1. Said here with reference to the *Purānas* only.

2. E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (*Ancient India*, ed. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922), ch. 13 ('The *Purānas*'), p. 300.

3. For the Great Epic and the Rāma Epic see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol I, Eng. tr. (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 311-517, esp. pp. 474-475 and 516-517 (brief summaries of the results of the investigations into the ages of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the historical value of the royal genealogies furnished by the *Purāṇas*. Keith[1] is excessively sceptical about the historical value of the *Purāṇas* and is doubtful regarding the historicity of any event which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda*. He is supported partly by H. C. Raychaudhuri[2] and R. C. Majumdar[3] and very indirectly by M. Winternitz.[4] A. S. Altekar[5] and A.D. Pusalker,[6] on the other hand, have collected some typical cases to show that the Puranic genealogies are referring to kings who figure in the Vedic literature also. The greatest champion of this latter school of thought is F. E. Pargiter[7] who gives more weight to the Puranic tradition than to the Vedic evidence. Despite a good deal of what is untrustworthy in them, the *Purāṇas* alone contain something like a continuous historical narrative, and it is absurd to suppose that the elaborate royal genealogies were all nearly figments of imagination or a tissue of falsehoods.[8] This traditional history, which has its basis in facts, has mostly preserved ancient tradition, and when supported by Vedic texts its evidence is unimpeachable.[9] No apology is therefore needed for the somewhat long account, given below, on the basis of the Epic and Puranic tradition.

1 For his views on the *Purānas* see J. R A. S, 1914 pp 118-126 ('The Brahmanic and Kshatriya Tradition'), 734-741 ('The Earliest Indian Traditional History'), 1021-1031 ('The Age of the *Purānas*').

2. *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 5-9.

3 *Ancient India* (Banaras, 1952), pp 69-70, esp p. 69 For his apparently modified view see *The Vedic Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar and A D Pusalker, 2nd impression (London, 1952), pp. 48-49.

4 *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p 529, n. 3.

5 Presidential Address delivered at the Archaic Section of the 3rd Indian History Congress, Calcutta, on the 15th December, 1939. See *Proceedings*, pp 33-77. This is also published in *Journal of the Banaras Hindu University*, Vol 4, pp 183-223, under the title, 'Can We Reconstruct Pre-Bhārata War History?' (with three Appendices)

6 *The Vedic Age*. pp. 267-268. 304-311, esp pp. 306-310.

7 *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford University Press, 1913), *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922), J. R. A. S., 1914, pp 267-296, 741-745; *Bhandarkar Comm Vol*. pp. 107 ff

8. A. D. Pusalker, *The Vedic Age*, pp. 304-305.

9 *Ibid*, p 310. The *Purānas* as sources of political history have been used also by V. A Smith (*Early History of India*, 4th ed. 1924), S. N Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1927), and V. Rangacharya (*Vedic India*, Part I: *The Aryan Expansion Over India*, Madras, 1937). For their value also see V. R R. Dikshitar, *The Purāna Index* Vol. I (Madras, 1951), introduction and I. H Q, Vol. 8, 1932, pp. 747-767 ('The *Purāṇas*: A Study')

There are other works in Brahmanical literature which though late provide valuable corroborative evidence, *e.g.*, the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.

If the Brahmanical literature is particularly useful for the monarchical period, the Buddhist and Jaina literature is equally so for the republican period of the North Bihar history. As a matter of fact, the material is so vast (especially in the Buddhist literature) that we have to make a selection. The Buddhist literature is also useful from a chronological point of view, because it furnishes valuable hints in that direction. Moreover, it vouchsafes "light when the light from Brahmanical sources begins to fail."[1]

Foreign literature used here includes Chinese accounts and references which, though late, are useful for our period also.

1 P. H. A. I., p. 11.

SECTION III

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME

In a work of the kind attempted in the following pages it seems to be necessary to point out the chronological scheme adopted here.

We have tentatively taken *c*. 2000 B. C. as the date of the accession of Manu Vaivasvata and the early Aryan expansion. We have accepted *c*. 950 B. C. as the date of the Mahābhārata War and in so doing we have followed Pargiter.[1] According to this scholar 94 generations of kings ruled up to the Bhārata War.[2] Thus Sumati (Pramati), the last known king in the Vaisalian genealogical list, who belonged to step no. 64 according to Pargiter's list[3], flourished about 1285 B.C. or 1300 B.C. (to take a round figure).[4] We have accepted 487 B. C. as the date of the death of Gautama Buddha and suggested our own date (*i.e.*, 561 B. C. to 490 B. C.) for Mahāvīra's life.

All other dates may easily be calculated if necessary.

With this introduction we may now begin the history of Vaiśālī.

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922), p. 182.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 148-149
3. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
4. The average reign-period comes to 11 years for the entire pre-Bhārata War period.

BOOK ONE

THE MONRACHY

(*Seven centuries*)

CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND CONSOLIDATION OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Nābhānedishṭha to Khanīnetra*)

THE ANTIQUITY OF VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī is not mentioned in the Vedic texts and the material for the traditional history of the kingdom is derived from the *Purāṇas* and the Epics; but a number of personalities mentioned in connection with the Vaiśālī region in the Puranic tradition figure in the Vedic literature as well. Nābhānedishṭha, a king of the Vaiśālī region, can be inferred from the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* of the *Yajur-Veda* (III. 1.9.4) and the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (V. 2. 14). Vatsaprī Bhālandana, another king of the same region, is the reputed author of *Ṛig-Veda*, IX. 68 and probably of X. 45 and 46.[1] He is mentioned in the later *Saṁhitās*[2] and the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*[3]. Marutta, one of the greatest kings of the Vaiśālī area, is known to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 4. 21) and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII . 5. 4. 6). It may, however, be argued that these persons bearing same names as the rulers of the Vaiśālī region were different personalities. This is possible, but not probable, One Takshaka Vaiśāleya is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda* (VII. 10. 29) as the son of Virāj and a descendant of Viśāla, and as the priest at a snake-sacrifice in the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV. 15. 3).

The first mention of the Vaiśālī region in ancient historical tradition[4] occurs in connection with the episodes recorded in the *Purāṇas* regarding the first six Manus[5] who belonged to the family of the first Manu and his sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda. The

1. Supported by *Bḍ.*, II. 32. 121-122 and *Mat* 145. 116-117.
2. *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, V. 2. 1. 6. *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*, XIX. 12. *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, III. 2. 2.
3. *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 11. 25.
4. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī* (Vaisali, 1948), pp. 45-46.
5. For their names see *Mārk*, 53. 6-7.

descendants of Priyavrata[1] are intimately connected with the Vaiśālī region and the adjoining sub-Himalayan and Himalayan tracts. His son Agnīdhra, when in old age, went to Śālagrāma[2] on the Gandakī (above Vaiśālī where the river emerges from the Himālayas). Agnīdhra's son, Nābhi, went to Viśālā[3] for the sake of penances. This Viśālā might either be Badarikāśrama or more probably our Vaiśālī where the Great Forest ('Mahāvana') continued even up to the republican times (*i.e.*, sixth century B. C.). Nābhi's son was the famous Ṛishabha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, who retired in old age to the āśrama of Pulaha,[4] which along with that of Pulastya, was at Śālagrāma[5] on the Gaṇḍakī (Chakranadī)[6]. Ṛishabha's son Bharata who gave his name to Hima-Varsha, which was called Bhārata-Varsha after him, too, in due course, retired, like his father before him, to Śālagrāma[7] making over this region to his son Sumati. Suśarman, a Brāhmaṇa of Viśālā town, called Vaiśāli and Viśālaputra[8], was a subject of Uttama, the son of Uttānapāda and the father of the second Manu. Budha was the leading Brāhmaṇa of Viśālagrāma[9] which village flourished in the time of the sixth Manu.

The Vaiśālī area is further associated with certain legends. The most important among these is that of Gajendra-Moksha (the rescue of the great elephant)[10]. This describes how a fight took place between an elephant and an alligator in the Gandak and how the former was released by Vishnu from the clutches of the latter at the confluence of the Gandak and the Ganges later called Gajendramoksha-tīrtha, Harihara-Kshetra and Hari-Kshetra, situated within Viśāla-Kshetra. The place of Diti's penance is also said to have been in the Vaiśālī region and the legend concerns the origin of her sons, the Maruts.[11] A third

1. *Bhāg* XI 2. 15-17
2. *Vish*, II 1. 24.
3. *Bhāg*. V. 4 5.
4. *Vish*, II. 1 29 *Mārk*, 53. 40.
5. *Bhāg*, V. 8 30. *Cf. Geog Dict* p. 255 (*s. v.* Śālagrāma).
6. *Bhāg*, V. 7. 10.
7. *Vish*, II 1 34, II. 13. *Bhāg*, V 7. 8-11.
8. *Mārk*, 70. 3-4.
9. *Ibid*, 76. 25, 37
10. *Bhāg*, VIII. 2-4. *Varāha*, 144 *Vāmana*, 85. *Skanda*, II. 4. 28.
11. *Rām*, I. 46. 1 to 47. 11. *Pad*, V. 7. *Vāmana*, 71-72.

legend about the same region concerns the 'Manthana' ('scouring') of the Eastern Seas by the Maruts and others, with Mount Mandara (in the Aṅga region) as the seat of the 'Daṇḍa' or the ruling power supporting the Vaiśālī sea-rangers[1].

Thus, although Vaiśālī is not mentioned in the Vedic literature and its monarchical history is based primarily on the Epic-Puranic materials, this kingdom was founded fairly early in course of the Aryan expansion in North-Eastern India and it cannot be said that the city played no part in the early Vedic period of Indian History.

SOURCES FOR VAISALIAN MONARCHICAL HISTORY

We do not possess prehistoric remains in the Vaiśālī-Videha area. So we have to fall upon the literary sources. The history of the Vaiśālī region is given by seven *Purāṇas* and also partially by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*[2]. Only four *Purāṇas* give complete genealogical lists, *viz.*, the *Vishṇu*, the *Garuḍa*, the *Vāyu* and the *Bhāgavata*. Those in the other three *Purāṇas* and the two Epics are incomplete and defective. Thus the *Brahmāṇḍa* omits kings from Prajāni to Avikshita, though Marutta was well-known as the son of Avikshita; the *Mārkaṇḍeya* narrates the history of the kings of the Vaiśālī region at great length but only down to Rājyavardhana; the *Liṅga* mentions only the first four kings; the *Rāmāyaṇa* begins the dynasty with Viśāla, wrongly calling him 'son of Ikshvāku'; and the *Mahābhārata* list is incomplete at the beginning, goes down only to Marutta, and wrongly inserts a ruler of the name of Ikshvāku. Subject to these short-comings the lists are in substantial agreement[3].

References to some kings of the Vaiśālī region are found in four *Purāṇas*[4] at the place where an account of Pulastya's offspring is given. Pulastya had been married to Ilavilā, the daughter of Tṛiṇabindu, a king of the Vaiśālī region. Hence while tracing the lineage of Ilavilā these names are mentioned. Of these the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* list is fuller (Marutta to Tṛiṇabindu), while the

1. *Rām*, I. 45. 13-45. *Cf.* S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 46.

2. *Vish*, IV. 1. 19-61. *Gar*, I. 138. 6-14. *Vā*, 85 3-22. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 23-36. *Bḍ*, III 61. 3-18 and 8. 35-37. *Mārk*, 113 to 136 and 109 to 110. *Lg*, I. 66. 53. *Rām*, I. 47. 11-18. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 2-23.

3. A. I. H. T., p. 97.

4. *Bḍ*, III 8. 35-38. *Vā*, 70. 30-32. *Lg*, I. 63. 56-59 *Kūr*, I. 19. 8-9.

Vāyu and the *Liṅga Purāṇas*, beginning with Marutta, omit rulers from Dama's successor to Tṛiṇabindu's predecessor. The *Kūrma-Purāṇa*, which does not give the Vaisalian genealogical list at any place whatsoever, mentions only Tṛiṇabindu. The *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, which mentions only first four names (Dishṭa to Ajavāhana) while treating the Vaisalian dynasty, thus furnishes some more names here for the benefit of the historian.[1]

THE VAIŚĀLĪ AREA BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE ARYANS

The earliest description of the Vaiśālī-Videha area is available in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (I. 4. 1. 10-19) in the story of Videgha Māthava. If we study it closely, we can get a pre-Aryan picture of the area east of the Sadānīrā (modern Gandak) as follows:—(i) At that time it (the land east of the Sadānīrā) was uncultivated. (ii) It was very marshy. (iii) It had not been sanctified by Agni Vaiśvānara, *i.e.*, the Brahmanical Vedic sacrifices and civilisation in general and fire-cult in particular had not yet been introduced into this area. (iv) The Brāhmaṇas did not cross the Sadānīrā river in former times, thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara.' (v) Even in late summer that river, as it were, raged along, that is to say, it was not affected by the heat of the summer, as the other rivers, but rushed along as rapidly and as well-filled as ever. It was so cold because of not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara. Although this was a well-filled river as it flowed from the northern (Himālaya) mountain and also as the name indicates ('Sadānīrā', *i.e.*, 'she that is always filled with water'), still the water was practically unutilised because the land east of this river was highly uncultivated and very marshy (*Śat. Br.*, I. 4. 1. 14-16, S. B. E., 12, pp. 105-106). The picture is not very encouraging and hence the founders of Vaiśālī and Videha had to perform a heavy and strenuous task immediately after their advent.

THE VAIŚĀLA DYNASTY AND ITS CAPITAL

In the Epic-Puranic account no name is given to this dynasty or kingdom at first. Even a famous king like Marutta, who is

1. These additional references to the rulers of the Vaiśālī region have not yet been properly noticed by scholars.

mentioned in the *Śatapatha - Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 4. 6.) along with many other kings whose kingdoms or places of sacrifices or dynasties are generally given (XIII. 5. 4. 1-23), does not find his kingdom or capital mentioned in that book, though he has been called there an Āyogava king. The *Mahābhārata* devoted many chapters to the story of Marutta and Saṁvarta (XIV. 3-10), but does not mention his kingdom or capital. Later on King Viśāla is said to have founded Viśālā or Vaiśālī as his capital, and thenceforward the kingdom was that of Vaiśālī, and the kings were styled Vaiśālaka kings.[1] These names are usually extended retrospectively to include the whole dynasty.

MANU VAIVASVATA AND HIS SONS

All the royal lineages of the Epic-Puranic literature are traced back to Manu Vaivasvata who is said to be the son of Vivasvat (the Sun). Here we have no intention to reopen the question of various Manus and their comparative chronology which has not yet been settled. Thanks to Pargiter, the history of pre-Buddhistic India has been reconstructed to a great extent on the basis of the Epic-Puranic literature, though a more detailed account is still a *desideratum*. He begins his scheme with Manu Vaivasvata and comes to the Bhārata War. Between Manu Vaivasvata and the Pāṇḍavas (both inclusive) there are said to have occurred 94 generations.

Manu Vaivasvata is said to have had nine sons,[2] and also a daughter named Ilā or an eldest son Ila who was turned into a woman Ilā. The nine sons assigned to Manu[3] were Ikshvāku, Nābhāga (or Nṛiga), Dhṛishṭa, Śaryāti, Narishyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhānedishṭha, Karūsha and Pṛishadhra.

Manu divided the earth, that is, India into ten portions.[4]

1. Vaiśālaka in *Vā*, 85. 22; *Bḍ*, III 61. 17; *Gar*, I. 138. 14. Vaiśālika in *Vish*, IV. 1 59, 61; *Rām*, I 47 18 Vaiśāla in *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 36.

2. *Bḍ*, III. 60. 2-3. *Vā*, 84. 3-4 *Br*, 7. 1-2. *Lg*, 1. 65. 17-19. *Kūr*, I. 20. 4-6. *Ag*, 273. 5-7. *Hv*, 10. 1-2. *Śiv*, VII. 60. 1-2. *Cf.* also *Vā*, 64 29-30; *Bd*, II 38. 30-32. Also see *Vish*, IV. 1. 7; *Gar*, I. 138. 2-3; *Mārk*, 79. 11-12 and 111. 4-5; *Bhāg*, IX. 1. 11-12; *Mat*, 11. 40-41; *Pad*, V. 8. 75-77; and *Mbh*, I. 1. 42-47 (fanciful, incorrect), I. 75. 15-17.

3. *Mbh*, I. 75. 17-18 says he had 50 other sons, who perished through mutual dissension.

4. *Vā*, 84. 20-21. *Bḍ*, III. 60. 20-21. *Br*, 7. 20-21. *Hv*, 10. 20-22. *Śiv*, VII.60. 16. *Cf.* Baudhāyana, II. 2. 3. 2

The details of the distribution among the sons are not given. Some like Pṛishadhra were excluded.

For the purpose of this book we have to consider the history of the dynasty of only one of the sons of Manu, *viz.*, Nābhānedishṭha, who established a line of kings that reigned in the country known afterwards as the kingdom of Vaiśālī.

THE LIST OF VAISALIAN KINGS

Before giving the traditional history of the kings of the Vaiśālī region, we propose to furnish their list for the sake of convenience. A few sources have inserted some additional names which also we have indicated here (*e.g.*, 8A, 10A, 17A, 17B) in order to make this list exhaustive. After each name we have given the generation number furnished by Pargiter (A. I. H. T., pp. 144-149).

1. Nābhānedishṭha (2)
2. Nābhāga
3. Bhalandana (6)
4. Vatsa-prī (8)
5. Prāṁśu (12)
6. Prajāni (or Prasandhi ? in *Mbh*) (16)
7. Khanitra (20)
8. Kshupa (24)

8A. Ikshvāku (*Mbh*)[1]

9. Viṁśa (28)
10. Viviṁśa (32)

10A. Rambha (*Bhāg*)

11. Khanīnetra (35)

11A. Ativibhūti (*Vish*) or Vibhūti (*Gar*)

12. Karandhama (38)
13. Avikshita (39)
14. Marutta (40)
15. Narishyanta (41)
16. Dama (42)
17. Rājyavardhana (44)

17A. Suvṛiddhi (*Vish*)

17B. Kevala (*Vish*)

18. Sudhṛiti (45)

1. The *Mahābhārata* inserts (XIV. 4. 3-4) one Ikshvāku (shown above as 8A) between Kshupa and Viṁśa by mistake.

19. Nara (46)
19A. Chandra (*Vish*)
20. Kevala (47)
21. Bandhumat (48)
22. Vegavat (49)
23. Budha (50)
24. Tṛiṇabindu (Ikshvāku ? in *Rām*) (52)
24A. Viśravas (53)[1]
25. Viśāla (54)
26. Hemachandra (55)
27. Suchandra (56)
28. Dhūmrāśva(57)
29. Sṛiñjaya (58)
30. Sahadeva (59)
31. Kṛiśāśva (60)
32. Somadatta (62)
33. Janamejaya (or Kākutstha in *Rām*) (63)
34. Sumati (64)

The *Purāṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* lists stop with Sumati who was a contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Sīradhvaja of Videha.

Only one *Purāṇa*, the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*, gives details of the careers of the kings of the Vaiśālī region up to Rājyavardhana. Their names with chapters dealing with them are as follows:—

1. Dishṭa (or Rishta)—(only mentioned in chs. 111 and 113, no details).
2. Nābhāga—chs. 113-116.
3. Bhalandana—chs. 114, 116.
4. Vatsa-prī—ch. 116.
5. Prāṁśu—ch. 117.
6. Prajāti—ch. 117.
7. Khanitra—chs. 117-118.
8. Kshupa—ch. 119.
9. Vimśa—ch. 119.
10. Viviṁśa—ch. 119.
11. Khanīnetra—chs. 120-121.
12. Karandhama—chs. 121, 124-125, 128.
13. Avikshita—chs. 122-128, 130-131.

1. Inserted by Pargiter in his list. We, however, do not find sufficient reason to have him in the main body of this list for which see *infra*.

14. Marutta—chs. 127-132.
15. Narishyanta—chs. 132-134.
16. Dama—chs. 133-136.
17. Rājyavardhana—chs. 109-110.

Hence, when no source is indicated in the following pages while dealing with these monarchs, it should be presumed that the statement has been taken from the *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa*, our only source for the details of the kings of the Vaiśālī region from Nābhāga to Rājyavardhana.

1. NĀBHĀNEDISHṬHA

He was one of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata.

His name has many variants in the ancient texts. It is found in the *Purāṇas* at two places, *viz.*, (1) where the sons of Manu are named, and (2) where the genealogical list of the kings of the Vaiśālī region is given. One additional reason for the confusion of the names is that one of the sons of Manu was also called Nābhāga[1] (or Nṛiga).[2] Consequently the name of Nābhānedishṭha "has been greatly corrupted (through the influence of the name Nābhāga), thus, *Nābhāgodishṭa*, *Nābhāgārishta*, *etc.*, and then split up into two, *Nābhāga* and *Dishta*, *Arishṭa* or *Rishṭa*"[3]. In some of the *Purāṇas* the total number of the sons of Manu is also stated as ten or nine or even less than this. In that case we can see whether the word *Nābhāga* coming just before *Dishṭa* (or its variants like *Rishta* or *Arishta*) is an independent name or part of one and the same name. Where no total number is stated, it is rather difficult to decide what the name is—whether it constitutes one name or two names. A possible help is offered where the genealogical list of the Vaiśālī region with Nābhānedishṭha as head begins.

Below (on the next page) are given important variants of the name Nābhānedishṭha. First is given the name of another son of Manu whose name Nābhāga is responsible for causing so much confusion, then follows the variant reading of the name of Nābhānedishṭha and then is given the name of the head of the Vaiśālī family (in case it is found in that particular source).

1. More probably *Nabhāga*. *Cf* Nabhāka in the *Ṛig-Veda*, VIII. 40. 5.

2. So *Bḍ* and *Vish*. *Lg* calls him *Nābhāga* and also *Nṛiga* (I. 66 45). *Bhāg* makes two sons of these names.

3. A. I H T., p 255, n 13.

Nābhāga (or Nṛiga)	Nābhānedishṭha	Founder of Vaisalian family	References
Nābhāga	Nābha uddi-shṭa		*Vā*, 64. 29, 29.
Nṛiga	Nābhāgadishṭa	Dishṭa	*Vish*, IV. 1. 7, 7, 19.
Nṛiga	Nābhāgo dishṭa		*Bd*, II. 38. 30, 31.
Nṛiga	Nābhāgo dishṭa	Dishṭa	*Bd*, III. 60. 2, 3 and 61. 3.
Nṛiga	Nābhāgo dishṭa	Dishṭa	*Gar*, I. 138. 2, 3, 6.
Nābhaga	Nābhago dishta		*Mārk*, 79. 11.
Nābhāga	Nābhago rishṭa	Dishṭa	*Mārk*, 111. 5, 4 and 113. 2.
Nabhaga	Nābhāgorishṭa	Dishṭa	*Lg*, I. 65. 18, 18 and 66. 53.
		Nābhāgārishṭa	*Vā*, 85. 3.
Nābhāga	Nābhāgārishṭa		*Mbh*, I. 75. 15, 17.
Nābhāga	Nābhāgārishṭa		*Hv*, 10. 1, 2.
Nābhāga	Nābhāga-aris-hṭa		*Kūr*, I. 20. 5.
Kuśanābha and Nābhāga	Arishṭa		*Pad*, V. 8. 76-77, 76.
Kuśanābha and Nābhāga	Arishṭa		*Mat*, 11. 41.
Nābhāga	Rishṭa Nābhāgarishṭa Aṅgorishṭa (or Rishṭa)		*Br*, 7. 1, 2. Br, 7. 42. *Mbh*, II. 8. 15.
Nṛiga and Nabhaga	Dishṭa	Dishṭa	*Bhāg*, IX. 1. 12, 12 and 2. 22-23.

The correct reading of the royal name, however, appears to be *Nābhānedishṭha* (as *Vish* reading Nābhāgadishṭa, IV. 1. 7 shows) which occurs in *Ṛig-Veda*, X. 61. 18, a hymn attributed to him. But it appears from the table of the variants furnished above that *Dishṭa* was a convenient abbreviation of the name which was employed at several places. This might have been especially due to the possibility that the real name was forgotten later on.

This conjecture is supported by the fact that the Epics do not know Nābhānedishṭha as the founder of the kingdom of Vaiśālī. The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not mention the name at all. The *Mahābhārata*, too, does not mention him at the place where the Vaisalian genealogy (from Manu the *daṇḍadhara* to Marutta) has been stated (*Mbh*, XIV. 4). Hence it appears the name of the founder of the line of the Vaiśālī region, which later on turned into a stronghold of heterogeneous cults, was forgotten.

The *Purāṇas* give the list of a line of kings[1] without naming at the outset any territory over which they ruled. At a later stage they mention Viśāla who is said to have founded Viśālā or Vaiśālī. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* the territory of the last ruler of the dynasty, named Sumati, lay north of the Ganges (*Rām*, I. 45. 9) and south-west of Videha (*Rām*, I. 50 1). This may tend to settle the point[2] and if this is accepted we may presume that Nābhānedishṭha was the founder of the dynasty which ruled in the same area whose history is being treated in the following pages. An exception to this type of argument is provided by the Pauravas who abandoned Hastināpura, shifted to Kausāmbī and made it their capital. We, however, do not hear of any change of royal place or capital in the case of the dynasty of Nābhānedishṭha.

The references to Nābhānedishṭha are found in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Yajur-Veda*, where he is called the son of Manu. *Cf.* Griffiths' *Hymns of the Ṛg-Veda*, Vol. II, p. 467, hymn 18; p. 468, hymn 21; p. 469, hymns 1 and 4; p. 470, hymn 11. These references make it highly probable that the kingdoms of Vaiśālī and Mithilā were founded almost at the same time, though Vaiśālī City may have come into existence at a later age.[3]

1. Called Dishṭavamśa in the *Bhāg*, IX. 2 22.

2. There were more Viśālās or Vaiśālīs than one (*cf. Geog Dict*, p. 39) as we know from ancient literature, *e.g*, (1) one which lay in Videha (used in a broad sense) whose history is treated here, (2) another was Ujjayinī (*Meghadūta*, I 30, *Skanda-Purāṇa*, V. 1 47), (3) another was Badarikā (popularly known as Badribisāl) which lay in the Himālayas (*Skanda-Purāṇa*, II 3. 4-5. 8, *Mbh*, III. 139 11, XII 344 20, also III. 90. 25-26); (4) one Vaiśālī appears to be near Kurukshetra (*Vāmana*, 37. 30) as it appears from the context, but it is not certain. Besides these, we come across references to a place named Viśālā whose exact position cannot be known, *e.g.*, *Pad*, VI. 189. 27 (Vol. 4, p. 1594), *Bhāg*, V 4 5 They might refer to our Vaiśālī whose history is given here.

3. S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p. 22, n.

The story of Nābhānedishṭha[1] is given in the *Yajur-Veda*[2] and the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*.[3] He is there called a son of Manu who partitioned his estates amongst his sons. Nābhānedishṭha, still dwelling as a student with his preceptor, was left out of account. As advised by his father he performed the sacrifice of the Āṅgirasas and got much wealth. According to Hewitt what is proved in this story is that the Āṅgirasah were the priests of the earthborn deities, and that it was by the help of Nābhānedishṭha that they learnt that it is in heaven that the real creative power resides, and that, as the imparter of this knowledge, Nābhānedishṭha took the place among the gods which had previously been assigned to Rudra the earthly father.[4]

A hymn (*Ṛig-Veda*, X. 61. 18) is attributed to him. This shows that he was a poet, interested in religious matters and flourished quite early. He is praised in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*.[5] His hymn is repeatedly mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*.[6]

Nābhānedishṭha is etymologically connected in all probability with Nabānazdisht in the *Avesta*. Lassen saw in the legend a reminiscence of an Indo-Iranian split; but Roth showed conclusively that this was impossible, and that Nābhānedishṭha meant simply 'nearest in birth'.[7]

Many *Purāṇas*[8] say that Nābhāga, son of Dishṭa, became a Vaiśya; but only one of them, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*,[9] gives an account of this episode. It so happened that while yet young (*prathama-yauvane*) Nābhāga met a Vaiśya farmer's daughter and fell in love with her. Desiring to marry her, he approached the girl's father who, however, argued incompatibility and other

1. P Vasudeva Sarma, 'The Story of Nābhānedishtha and its Jurisprudential Bearings', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol 6, 1932. pp. 22-29. The story is also analysed by J F Hewitt in J. R A S, 1890, pp. 530-536

2. *Taittiriya-Samhitā*, III 1. 9.

3. *Aitareya-Brāhmana*, V. 14

4. J R. A S. 1890, p 531.

5. *Śāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, XVI 11. 28. 30.

6. *Kaushītaki-Brāhmana*, XXVIII 4, merely refers to him as connected with the Angirases So also *ibid.*, XXX 4, *Aitareya-Brāhmana*, VI. 30, 31; *Pañchavimśa-Brāhmana*, XX. 9 2.

7. *Vedic Index* (London, 1912), Vol. I, p. 442.

8. *Vish*, IV. 1. 19. *Bd*, III. 61. 3, mentions Nābhāga, son of Dishṭa but is silent about his Vaiśya-hood. *Gar*, I. 138. 6. *Lg*, I. 66.53. *Bhāg*, IX 2.23. *Mārk*, 113.2. *Vā* omits Nābhāga from its Vaisalian genealogical list (ch. 85).

9. *Mārk*, chs. 113 (2-37) and 114(1-5).

reasons. The farmer further reported to the king, who summoned Ṛichīka-Bhārgava and other Brāhmanas for consultation. They gave the ruling on the point, permitting the marriage *after* the marriage with a 'princess'. Nābhāga rejected this on principle, and carried off the farmer's daughter, Suprabhā by name, resorting to the 'Rākshasa' form of marriage. The farmer reported the occurrence. The king sent an army against the defiant son, but it was routed, whereupon he himself took the field and fought his son. In this crisis a 'parivrājaka muni' intervened, ruled that since Nāghāga had become a Vaiśya by marriage with a Vaiśya (which was voluntary on both sides), the war should stop, for, by the laws of warfare, Kshatriyas fight only with Kshatriyas (*Mārk*, ch. 113) and thereby prevented the fatal conflict (*Mārk*, 114. 1). Thus the king became reconciled to his son and daughter-in-law and brought them to court, but Nābhāga persisted in leading the Vaiśya life of cattle-rearing, agriculture and trade; and this was also ultimately ruled by the king's advisers headed by Bābhravya-Kauśika. Nābhāga, who had become a Vaiśya by marrying a Vaiśya maiden and had consequently fallen from his own sphere of righteousness, complied with the ruling of 'those expounders of righteousness' (*taih dharmavādibhih*).

We do not know the names of the wife/wives and sons of Nābhānedishtha. Evidently he had more sons than one (*i.e.*, Nābhāga), because later on Bhalandana, the son of Nābhāga, had to fight with Vasurāta (*Mārk*, 114. 13, 15) and other cousins for getting back his paternal kingdom (see *infra*). Also, the *Brahma-Purāṇa* (7. 42) and the *Harivamśa* (XI. 9)[1] say that "two sons of Nābhāgarishṭa (*or* two sons, *viz*.. the son of Nābhāga and that of Rishṭa), though Vaiśyas, attained Brāhmaṇa-hood."

Nābhānedishtha must have flourished very early, say, towards the end of the Aryan occupation of the Gangetic plain of India. This is supported by his mention in the tenth[2] *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛig-Veda* and in the *Avesta*. This is probable because the Gandak Valley must have been occupied by the Aryans later than the Punjab and Kuru-Pañchāla regions.

1. The *Hv* has Nābhāgārishṭa instead of Nābhāgarishṭa of the *Br.*

2. The first and the tenth *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛig-Veda* are considered to be the latest additions to the collection. See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Eng. tr., Vol I (Calcutta, 1927), pp 57-59.

2. NĀBHĀGA

Nābhāga was deprived of his father's throne because of his having become a Vaiśya (*Mārk*, 114. 19). So the throne must have gone to his brother and the latter's sons. This inference is supported by the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (114. 13-15) that speaks of Vasurāta and his brothers who were sons of Nābhāga's unnamed brother and on whose declining to part with half of the kingdom the son of Nābhāga fought a successful war.

We do not know the names of the wives (if he had more than one) and all the sons of Nābhāga. But indications are that he had at least three sons:—(1) From various *Purāṇas* (for references see *infra*) we know that Nābhāga had a son named Bhalandana. (2-3) The *Harivaṁśa* (XI. 9) says that two of his sons, though Vaiśyas, became Brāhmaṇas.[1]

Nābhāga, like Edward VIII of England of our own time, preferred to deprive himself of the paternal throne for the lady of his love. He also lost his Kshatriya status, became a Vaiśya and followed his occupations, *viz.*, cattle-rearing, agriculture and trade (*Mārk*, 114. 4). Conditions of the Vaiśālī region were especially suitable for these occupations, *viz.*, (1) the proximity of the Himalayan area and the existence of the *Mahāvana* ('Great Forest') near Vaiśālī; (2) presence of uncultivated, marshy land requiring cultivation (*cf. Śat. Br.*, I. 4. 1. 15); and (3) river-communication due to the Gandak and the Ganges. Nābhāga appears merely to be a symbol for the great agricultural and commercial activities which followed. Considering the later history of Vaiśālī this matter becomes important. "The story regarding Nābhāga's transformation from a Kshatriya into a Vaiśya was probably intended to explain the fact that Vaiśālī became a centre of trade and commerce at an early period".[2] The Brāhmaṇas seem to occupy an important position in the society of the time.

1. Pargiter in his English translation of the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (p. 593. f n.) writes - -' The *Bhāgavata Pur* says two of his (*i.e.*, Dishta's) sons, though Kshatriyas, obtained Brāhmana-hood (IX. 2 17)". This is wrong. What is stated in the *Bhāg* is that "The Kshatriya race of Dhārshṭa, descended from Dhṛishṭa, attained Brāhmaṇa-hood on the earth". This Dhṛishṭa, a son of Manu Vaivasvata (*Bhāg*, IX 1 12), is different from Dishṭa another son of Manu (*ibid.*)· Pargiter also accepts this (A. I. H. T, p 84, n 2). The *Br* (7. 26), however, states that "the sons of Nābhāga and Dhrishta, though Kshatriyas, attained Vaiśya-hood."

2. S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), p 22, n.

Indeed, "it was the Aryan Brāhmaṇas who led the further advance into the countries to the east of the Gandak, and who superintended the establishment of the kingdom of Videha and the founding of the great city of the Vaiśyas, or Vāsyus, which became so celebrated under the name of Vaiśālī."[1] Rangacharya[2] infers from the foggy and confusing evidences that the Vaiśālī line "was probably founded by a prince who was not very particular in his notions of marriage and who had a Vaiśya bride instead of a Kshatriya one." He feels that "the royal clan might really not have been so high or pure, though its kings outbade the most Aryan of the Aryan kings in their ideals and practices."[3] Marutta, a king of the Vaiśālī region who flourished afterwards, has been called an Āyogava in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* (XIII. 5. 4. 6). The chroniclers and law-givers, remembering probably the tradition of the Vaiśya lady's marriage with a prince, changed the very meaning of this epithet of the Vaisalian king and interpreted it as a caste born of a Vaiśya lady and a Śūdra male (*cf. Mbh*, XIII. 48. 13, *Manu-Smṛti*, X. 12). Āyogava actually means 'one belonging to the stock of Ayogu.'[4]

Although Nābhāga was satisfied with his agricultural, pastoral and commercial vocations, his son, Bhalandana, born of his Vaiśya wife Suprabhā, did not accept this position. Exhorted by his mother, he tried to recover the paternal kingdom with the help of Rājarshi Nīpa (probably of Kāmpilya), then residing in retirement in a Himavat āśrama, who gave him necessary arms and military training. Hereafter Bhalandana went to Vasurāta and others, Nābhāga's younger brother's sons, and demanded half the kingdom which they refused to give as he was a Vaiśya. He then worsted them in war, wrested the whole kingdom, and offered the crown to his parents. But Nābhāga refused it on two grounds: (1) he did not like to disregard the command of his father of not ruling over the kingdom; (2) he should not enjoy the kingdom which had been recovered by his son for him. Suprabhā, however, supported her son, now disclosing that Nābhāga had not really become a Vaiśya, for she herself was very

1. J. F. Hewitt, 'Notes on the Early History of Northern India', J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 312.

2. *Vedic India*, Part I (Madras, 1937), p. 426.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, I, p. 682.

truly a Kshatriyā. She narrated a story about it saying that she was the daughter of king Sudeva who had previously been degraded to Vaiśya-hood and that an Agastya chief while cursing her had made the concession that striving for attainment of royalty for her husband and son, she (Suprabhā) could yet return to her Kshatriyā status. Nābhāga still stuck to his Vaiśya-hood and remained a farmer, and suggested that as such he would pay taxes to his son, who might become king by virtue of conquest. His view prevailing, prince Bhalandana ascended the throne (*Mārk*, 114. 6--116. 4).

3. BHALANDANA

He was the son of Nābhāga. His name is variously given as Bhalandana,[1] Balandhana,[2] Bhanandana,[3] Halandhana[4] and Bhanandara.[5] The last two are given as variant readings in the foot-notes in the *Bhāgavata* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. While the second indicates his prowess, the third probably hints at his Vaiśya status (see *infra*). We have kept Bhalandana as the proper spelling as it is given by the majority of the *Purāṇas*.

We have seen before how he recovered his paternal throne and presented it to his father who declined the offer. He then ascended the throne and governed the kingdom in righteousness. His prowess, which he had shown in recovering his paternal kingdom, was not directed in bringing other kings to his subjection.

He performed a sacrifice according to rules.

Bhalandana was fortunate in having a well-behaved and able son named Vatsaprī. When he came of age he surpassed his father with the multitude of his good qualities.

Vatsa-prī's wife was Mudāvatī (later called Sunandā)[6], daughter of Vidūratha, whose capital was on the river Nirvindhyā in Malwa (*Mārk*, 116. 27, 33). He gained her by slaying the Daitya (Asura) King Kujrmbha of 'Rasātala' or 'Pātāla'. Vidūratha performed the series of marriage rites for them both,

1. *Vā*, 85 3. *Lg*, I 66 53 *Bḍ*, III. 61 3 *Bhāg*, IX 2. 23 *Gar*, I. 138. 6.
2. *Vish*, IV. 1. 19
3. *Mārk*, 114. 6. *Gar*, I. 138 6 (*v. l.*)
4. *Bhāg*, IX 2. 23 (*v l*).
5. *Gar*, I. 138. 6 (*v l*).
6. The story of the romance of Vatsa-prī and Sunandā is given in the *Mārk*, ch. 116.

for his daughter Mudāvatī and Bhalandana's son. Thereafter Vatsaprī in his early manhood sported with her in charming regions and in palaces and on hill-tops.

As time passed on, Bhalandana grew old and departed to the forest. Vatsa-prī himself became king.

Bhalandana proved to be a very righteous and religious ruler. Some of his hymns found their way to the Vedic collection. Being born of a Vaiśya lady and a degraded Kshatriya who had become a Vaiśya,[1] he was considered to have become a Vaiśya because it is declared there were three Vaiśya hymn-makers, *viz.*, Bhalandana, Vatsa (=Vatsaprī ?) and Sankīla.[2] Probably it was due to his hymn-making activity that the *Brahmānda-Purāṇa* (III. 61. 3) and the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (85. 3) choose to call him a 'scholar' (*'vidvān'*).

4. VATSA-PRĪ

Vatsaprī was the son of Bhalandana. His name is variously given as Vatsaprī,[3] Vatsa-prīti,[4] Vatsaprāpti[5] and Ajavāhana.[6] The *Vāyu* and *Brahmānḍa Purāṇas* do not mention any ruler between Bhalandana and Prāmśu and thus omit his name.

We have seen that Vatsa-prī had married the daughter of king Vidūratha of the Mālava country. This matrimonial alliance was of great help to the Vaisalian kingdom because Vidūratha "made him his son-in-law and apparently also his successor—so that at least for a generation Vaisālī held sway over Mālava."[7] S. C. Sarkar conjectures that Vatsa also succeeded to the Kāśī throne at the same time. His argument is that Vatsa was the son of the Kāśī king Sudeva's daughter's son (Bhalandana): after Sudeva in the Kāśī line we have Divodāsa II (half-brother of Suprabhā) and his son, the famous Pratardana: after Pratardana the Kāśī list shows Vatsa.[8] The argument is

1. *Mārk*, 113 36, 114 2; 116 3 *Vish*, IV. 1 19 *Bhāg*, IX 2 23 *Cf.* "The sons of Nābhāga and Dhrishta, who were Kshatriyas, attained Vaiśva-hood" (*Br*, 7 26)

2. *Bd*, II 32 121-122 *Mat*, 143 116-117.

3. *Mārk*, ch 116.

4. *Vish*, IV 1. 20 *Bhag*, IX. 2 23. *Gar*, I. 138 6.

5. *Gar*, I 138. 6 (*v. l.*)

6. *Lg*, I 66 53

7. S C Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 48.

8. *Ibid*. pp. 48-49.

alluring, but Vatsa of Kāśī belongs to generation no. 42 according to Pargiter, while Vatsaprī of Vaiśālī belonged to generation no. 8 according to the same scholar. Thus it is incompatible; but Vatsa-prī might have had some influence over the Kāśī kingdom for the reason indicated by S. C. Sarkar.

Vatsa-prī offered up sacrifices continually, while protecting his people with righteousness. Now the people, being protected by that high-souled monarch as if they were his children (*cf.* Aśoka of Magadha in the 3rd century B.C.), prospered, and in his realm there was no confusion among the castes; and no one felt any fear of robbers, rogues or villains, nor any fear of calamities, while he ruled as king (*Mārk*, ch. 116; Pargiter's English translation, p. 610). He thus became a man of great fame and generosity.[1]

Twelve sons were born of Sunandā, *viz.*, Prāṁśu, Prachīra, Śūra, Suchakra, Vi-krama, Krama, Balin, Balāka, Chaṇḍa, Pra-chaṇḍa, Su-vikrama and Sva-rūpa. All the princes were of great parts and most victorious in battle (*Mārk*, 117. 1-2).

Vatsa-prī Bhālandana is the reputed author of *Ṛig-Veda*, IX. 68, and probably X. 45 and 46. This is also confirmed by the Puranic evidence[2] where it is stated that there were three Vaiśya hymn-makers (*mantra-kṛitah*), Bhalandana (Bhalandaka), Vatsa (Vāsāśva) and Saṅkīla. Vatsa-prī Bhālandana is mentioned in the later *Saṁhitās*[3] and the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*.[4]

After Vatsa-prī comes a somewhat confused period in the dynastic and political history of the Vaiśālī region: the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* stops with his name and gives no further names at all; the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* leaves a blank after Prāmśu, his successor.

5. PRĀṀSU

He was the eldest son of Vatsa-prī (*Mārk*, 118. 3) and is known to have been a strong[5] ruler. The *Purāṇas*,[6] which

1. *Vish*, IV. 1. 20

2. *Bd.* II. 32. 121-122 *Mat.* 145 116-117. Variant readings of *Bḍ* and *Mat* respectively have been provided.

3. *Taittiriya-Samhitā*, V. 2. 1. 6 *Kaṭhaka-Samhitā*, XIX. 12. *Maitrāyanī-Saṁhitā*, III. 2. 2.

4. *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmana*, XII. 11. 25 *Cf. Śat. Br*, VI. 7. 4. 1.

5. *Bd*, III 61. 4 *Mārk*, 117 3. The Calcutta edition of the text which I have used makes a mistake in the numbering after ch. 116. It omits ch. 117, calls this ch. 118, and continues the mistaken numbering to the end. I have referred to the chapter number after correcting it.

6. *Vā*, 85. 4. *Vish*, IV 1. 21. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 24. *Mārk*, ch 117. *Bḍ*, III. 61 4.

mention him, call him Prāmśu, except one[1] where the name Pāmśu occurs.

He being the eldest became king. His younger brothers were subordinate to his authority like dependants. At his sacrifice the earth (*'Vasundharā'*, "container of wealth") justified her name by reason of the many multitudes of things, which she gave away to the twice-born and which she parted with to the inferior castes. He duly protected his people as if his own begotten children. He possessed rich treasures with whose help he performed, it is said, innumerable sacrifices (*Mārk*, ch. 117).

We feel tempted to identify Prāmśu, the successor of Vatsa (-prī), an upholder of society and state and a great sacrificer, with Saṅkīla, who is depicted by the Puranic evidence[2] as one of the three Vaiśya hymn-makers (*mantrakritah*), *viz.*, Bhalandana, Vatsa and Sankīla. Chronologically both Prāmśu and Sankīla are placed after Vatsa(-prī). Moreover, the dynasty of Dishṭa (or Nābhānedishtha) to which these rulers belonged is reputed to be a Vaiśya dynasty It may be argued that the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāna* which mentions Prāmśu clearly (III. 61. 4) might not make a mistake in naming this ruler as a Vaiśya hymn-maker. But it can be said that the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāna* does not preserve the tradition fully as it omits the names from Prāmśu's successor (Prajāni) to Marutta's predecessor (Avikshita); besides Prāmśu, the name Pāmsu is also available, and so a third name (Sankīla) cannot be ruled out completely. Also, the *Matsya-Purāna* does not mention any king of the Vaisalian dynasty. So the argument cannot be applicable to this *Purāna* at all. And thus there can be no possible objection to this proposed identification.

Although Prāmsu is highly praised in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna* (ch. 117) both for his valour and generosity, we have to take it with a grain of salt. There appears to have ensued confusion which is shown by the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, omitting altogether the names in the dynastic list from Prāmśu's successor to Avikshita. These names are shadowy, except in one or two cases, where the details, in S. C Sarkar's opinion,[3] indicate a break-up of the kingdom, and the advent of a new ruling

1. *Gar*, I 138 7
2 *Bḍ.* II 32 121-122 *Mat*, 145 116-117
3. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 49.

family grafted on to the previous decadent line. S. C. Sarkar makes an original suggestion here: "it appears that there was another local princely family, also belonging to the Ikhsvāku group, and descended from an earlier 'Prāṁśu' (than the one who was a son of Vatsa-prī), who was one of the eight brothers of Ikshvāku, son of Manu, and that this family ruled somewhere in the same Vaiśālī region."[1] The conjecture seems to be based on the identicality of the name Prāṁśu. (For a similar suggestion regarding Kshupa, see *infra.*)

6. PRAJĀNI

Prajāni[2] was the son of Prāṁśu. His name is also given as Prajāti,[3] Prajāpati[4] and Pramati.[5] He seems to be the same[6] as Prasandhi in the genealogy in the *Mahābhārata, Aśvamedhika-Parvan*, 4. 2. This suggestion of Pargiter seems to be acceptable especially on the phonetic ground where the only other competitor is Prāmśu. But Prāmśu's case is weakened as Prasandhi is shown as the father of Kshupa[7], in which case he (Prasandhi) should be as close to Kshupa as possible. In the *Purānas* Kshupa is the grand-son of Prajāni and great-grandson of Prāṁśu. Hence we would prefer Prajāni to Prāmśu in identifying him with the Prasandhi of the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa* (ch. 117) says that at the sacrifice of Prajāti (Prajāni), Indra smote nine nineties of valiant Dānavas and Bala and Jambha, noblest of Asuras, and smote other very valiant foes of the gods. This need not be taken literally, but it hints at some conflict between the kingdom of Vaiśālī on one hand and the Dānavas and the Asuras on the other. And the omission of the names of kings from Prajāni to Avikshita in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (III. 61) may point to the bad performance of the Vaisalians in this conflict. Regarding this omission we have another suggestion also to make. It appears there was some gap in the material on whose basis the chronicler of the *Brahmāṇḍa*-

1. *Ibid.* Brackets are not ours
2. *Vā*, 85. 4.
3. *Mārk*, ch. 117 *Hv*, XI 10 (confused).
4. *Vish*, IV. 1. 22 (some texts of this *Purāna* give Prajāni). *Br*, 7. 26 (confused)
5. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 24.
6. Pargiter, English translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, p. 611, n.
7. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 3.

Purāṇa was writing. After Prāṁśu he found the word Prajāpati[1] no doubt, but then there was a gap (stopping just before Marutta). Instead of thinking that Prajāpati (a variant of Prajāti or Prajāni, as shown above) was a son of Prāṁśu, he thought it prudent to compare Marutta (the next ruler available to him in his slightly damaged material) with Prajāpati[2] (=the 'Law-giver') with a view to avoiding a possible risk.

Prajāni had five sons, of whom Khanitra was chief. Of them Khanitra became king.

7. KHANITRA

He was celebrated for his personal feats of prowess. He was a pacific, truth-speaking hero; he delighted in doing good to all living creatures. He uttered this prayer[3] day and night:—

"Let all created things rejoice, let them be affectionate even in solitary places ! May there be welfare for all created things, and may they be free from affliction ! May created things experience no bodily sickness nor any mental diseases ! May all created things cherish friendliness to every living being ! May there be bliss for all the twice-born; may they have mutual loving kindness ! May all castes have full prosperity, and may all deeds attain perfect accomplishment ! May the worlds be propitious to all created things ! May your mind always be propitious ! Desire ye at all times what is good for your son even as for yourselves ! Similarly be ye benevolent in mind to all created things ! This is unbounded good for you. Moreover, who sins against whom, that he causes any harm to any one besotted in mind ? To him assuredly comes that result, that which accrues to the doer thereof. So thinking, ho ! let the people be informed of their duties to all, lest ye wise people shall undergo secular sin. May there ever be bliss on the earth for him, who loves me now; and may even he, who hates me, see good things in this world !"

Like the Mughal emperor Humayun, Khanitra was very kind to his brothers whom he appointed to separate kingdoms; thus he placed Śauri over the east region with Suhotra Ātreya as

1. *Bd*, III 61 4· *Prāmśoreko'bhavatputrah Prajāpatisamo nṛpah. Cf. Br*, 7 26.

2 The *Mahābhārata* compares Marutta with Vishnu (XIV. 4. 24) and Vāsava (XIV. 5. 14).

3 *Mārk*, 117. 12-20 No apology is required for quoting this prayer in full as it is an ancient example of what is now-a-days known as the *Sarvodaya* (lit., 'progress of all') ideal.

chaplain, Udāvasu (or Mudāvasu) over the south, with Kuśāvarta Gautama as chaplain, Sunaya over the western region with Pramati Kāśyapa as chaplain, and Mahāratha over the northern with a Vāsishṭha chaplain. Those four kings indeed enjoyed their own kingdoms, and Khanitra was their overlord. King Khanitra was always kind to his four brothers and all his people as to his own sons.

As in the case of Humayun much later, so in the case of Khanitra things did not go peacefully. Śauri's minister, Viśvavedin, gave shrewd political advice to him, urging him to capture the over-lordship of Khanitra, and overcame his scruples. Then this minister contrived to bring the other brothers and their ministers under the leadership of Śauri. All these combined sent a big force against Khanitra, who however was influential enough to win back the rebel armies and turn them against the conspirators. The conspiring priests met their death, which upset the pious Khanitra and, in remorse for the great slaughter, he renounced the throne, anointed his son Kshupa, and went into vānaprastha with his three wives.[1]

8. KSHUPA

Kshupa was the son of Khanitra. He is variously called Kshupa,[2] Chakshusha,[3] and Chākshusha.[4]

On receiving the kingdom he protected his people and delighted them in righteousness like his father. That king was by disposition liberal of gifts and a sacrificer of sacrifices; he was just alike both to foe and friend in the path of the administration of justice. He emulated a more ancient king of the same name[5] and enriched the Brāhmaṇas.

1. For details see *Mārk*, chs. 117 and 118.
2. *Vā*, 85. 5 *Gar*, I 138 7. *Mārk*, chs. 118 and 119. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 3.
3. *Vish*, IV. 1. 24.
4. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 24.
5. It must apparently be this Kshupa (Brahmā's son, *Mārk*, 119. 4) to whom reference is made in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 166. 73) where it is said that after the sword of justice was fashioned Manu gave it to Khsupa for the protection of the people, and Ikshvāku got it from Kshupa. In the *Mahābhārata* one king named Kshupa has been mentioned in two enumerations (XIII. 115. 75; 165. 56) but nowhere has his territory or kingdom been stated. Hence we are unable to determine as to which of the Kshupas is meant in those *ślokas*. Kshupa of *Mbh*, XIII. 115. 75 was among the kings who did not eat meat during the month of Kārtika; while that of XIII. 165. 56 was among pious persons.

His wife, Pramathā, gave birth to a son named Vīra or Viṁśa who, according to the *Purāṇas*, succeeded his father on the royal throne.

Between Kshupa and Vimśa a king Ikshvāku is inserted in the genealogy given in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 4. 3-4). As Ikshvāku flourished much early, this insertion appears to be a mistake which was possibly committed by confusing this Kshupa of the Vaiśālī region with the more ancient king who was Brahmā's son. The story of the sword of justice (*Mbh*, XII. 166. 73) was apparently responsible for this mistake. The insertion of Ikshvāku here, coupled with a similar insertion in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, seems to suggest that though Nābhānedishtha was the original founder of the Vaisalian dynasty, the Ikshvākus (Ikshvakuids) also did not long lag behind and they too were mixed up. This is supported by the fact that one of the clans of the Vajjian Republic was the Aikshvākas. Hence effort was made by the later chroniclers, who knew this fact, to incorporate Ikshvāku in the main genealogical list. Another explanation may be that this Ikshvāku may have belonged to a collateral line.

9. VIṀŚA

Viṁśa (lit. 'The Twentieth') was the son of Kshupa and is called so in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*[1] generally. Only the *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa*[2] calls him Vīra.

Our usual source, the *Mārkandeya-Purāṇa*, does not say much about Vīra It says that kings were brought into subjection by his majesty and valour and that his dear wife was a Vidarbha princess named Nandinī.[3] The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*[4] calls him 'very strong,' and the *Mahābhārata*[5] an 'ideal bowman.' But the *Mahābhārata* regards him as the eldest of the hundred sons of Ikshvāku, who were religious and became all kings. This is wrong as it is due to a confusion.

1. *Mbh*, XIV 4 5 *Vā*, 85 6 *Vish*, IV 1. 25 *Gar* .I. 138 7. *Bhāg* (IX. 2) does not mention Viṁśa at all.
2. *Mārk*, 119. 13
3. *Mārk*, 119. 13-14.
4. *Vish*, IV 1. 25
5. *Mbh*, XIV. 4 5.

10. VIVIMŚA

Vivimśa (lit., 'The Twenty-Second') was the son of Vimśa. He is variously called Vivimśa,[1] Vivimśaka[2] and Vivimśati.[3]

While Vivimśa was ruling over the kingdom as a king of great vigour, the earth became densely populated with men. It rained on the earth in due season, and the earth abounded with harvests, and the harvests were most fruitful, and the fruits were full of juice, and the juices gave nourishment, yet the nourishment caused no outrageous behaviour; nor did the stores of riches become causes of debauchery among men.

After performing very many sacrifices, after protecting the earth, he met his death in battle, as the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[4] informs us, and departed hence to the world of Indra.[5] Although the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* speaks highly of the reign of Vivimśa, it says that he died in battle. This may indicate that there was some conflict either with a foreign king or in the royal family itself.

S. C. Sarkar suggests that "this group, beginning with Kshupa and counting twenty-two (vivimśa) princes (mostly un-named), is clearly a separate family belonging to the same Vaiśālī country, descended from another 'early' Ikshvāku, namely Kshupa, like the one descended from Prāmśu (as related before), and is inserted by later chroniclers in the break between Vatsa and Karandhama."[6]

According to the *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 4. 6) Vivimśa had fifteen sons of whom the eldest was Khanīnetra (*ibid.*, XIV. 4. 7). The Puranic source, however, mentions only Khanīnetra (*v.l.* Khaninetra) and no other son. But the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (IX. 2. 25) inserts Rambha between Vivimśati and Khanīnetra. As no other *Purāṇa* mentions him, we may dismiss this king. To us it appears that the *Bhāgavata* has introduced this additional king

1. *Vā*, 85. 6. *Gar*, I. 138. 8. *Mārk*, 119. 14-15. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 5.
2. *Vish*, IV. 1. 26. *Gar*, I. 138. 7.
3. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 24.
4. *Mārk*, ch. 119.
5. The Poona edition reads *Śakra-lokam*, but the Calcutta edition records *Śatru-lokam* (*Mārk*, 119. 19, chapter no. given erroneously as 120) which may indicate a conflict and the probable defeat of the king.
6. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 50.

because it had omitted Viṁśa already. This Rambha may have been a younger brother of Khanīnetra, if the *Mahābhārata* tradition about the fifteen sons of Viviṁśa be correct.

11. KHANĪNETRA

He is called Khanīnetra in two *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*[1] and Khaninetra in three other *Purānas*.[2] These terms appear to be interchangeable.

Khanīnetra was great in strength and prowess and also a great sacrificer. The *Bhāgavata-Purāna* (IX. 2. 25) calls him religious ('*dhārmika*') which is supported by the details furnished by the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*. 'After completing ten thousand sacrifices, he gave the earth with its seas away. He it was who sacrificed sixty-seven thousand and sixty-seven hundred and sixty-seven sacrifices with abundance of largesse.[3] He gave away all the earth to high-souled Brāhmaṇas. After obtaining unparalleled increase of riches from that most noble giver, Brāhmanas accepted no donation from any other king.'[4]

That king being son-less engaged in a hunt with the desire of obtaining flesh for a sacrifice to the pitris in order to obtain a son and was converted to ahiṁsā by the self-immolation of a deer (*cf.* Buddhist *Jātaka* parallels) Thereupon the childless Khanī-netra, abandoning animal sacrifice, strove to obtain a son with very arduous austerities on the sin-destroying river Gomatī[5] and had a son named Balāśva[6] (better known as Karandhama). S.C. Sarkar[7] interprets that the childless Khanīnetra obtained a son,—evidently an adopted one,—from the region of the Gomatī river. As he was issueless, his possessions passed to Karandhama of the Turvaśa dynasty (probably of the Rewa and the Gomatī

1 *Gar.* I. 138 8 *Mārk.* ch 120 *Mbh*, XIV 4 7.

2. *Vā*, 85 7 *Vish*, IV 1 27 *Bhāg*, IX 2 25

3. *Mārk*, 120 2 5 Here there appears to be an indirect hint at the number seventy-seven (ten thousand plus sixty-seven thousand='seventy-seven' thousand) The number of rājās at Vaiśāli in the time of the Lachchhavis is stated to be 7707 (*i e*, seventy-seven' hundered and seven)

4. *Mārk*, 120. 3-4 If the tradition of land-gifts being made to the Brāhmanas is correct, there might have developed an agricultural non-priestly Brāhmana community especially in what are now known as Bihar and U P

5 Possibly the kingdom of Khanīnetra extended up to the Gomati river.

6. *Mārk*. 121 8

7. S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit*, pp 49-50

region), by way of his adoption into this Vaiśālika family. He further says that the grafting of Karandhama (also called Bala-'Aśva')[1] represents the introduction of an Aryan—'Aila'—element into the midst of the Ikshvāku or Mānva region of Vaiśālī.[2]

We possess two different accounts about the end of Khanīnetra. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (121. 9) says that when Balāśva's (*i.e.*, Karandhama's) father died, he stood as king in the supreme sovereignty. The *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 4. 7-9, esp. 9), on the other hand, states that Khanīnetra oppressed his brothers, but having conquered the entire kingdom he could not retain it, as the people were not pleased with him; they dethroned him and installed his son Suvarchas as king, and then they rejoiced. The two accounts about the end of Khanīnetra may be reconciled if it be supposed that the king did not long survive his deposition.

Sometimes a king named Ativibhūti (*Vish*, IV. 1. 28) or Vibhūti (*Gar*, I. 138. 8) is inserted between Khanīnetra and Karandhama. He might have been an unimportant king ruling for a brief period only. But then arises the question of his relationship with his predecessor, Khanīnetra, who had no issue in the beginning.

"With Karandhama and Avikshita we leave the times of the kings who synthesized pacifism and priest-lore, farming and agriculture and knightly chivalry; and we come now to the times of ruthless, martial, conquering and wide-ruling emperors."[3]

1. Bracketed portion ours with a view to helping Sarkar by supplying an argument in favour of the theory of the introduction of the Aryan element. The horse is usually regarded as a typical Aryan thing. Names ending in 'Aśva' (=horse) begin in the Vaiśālī genealogy with Balāśva-Karandhama.

2. We, however, do not accept the 'Aila=Ārya' theory of Pargiter and Sarkar.

3. An admirable generalisation by S. C. Sarkar in *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 50.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION AND ASCENDANCY OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Karandhama to Rājyavardhana*)

12. KARANDHAMA

"With Karandhama begins a fresh powerful Vaiśāleya dynasty, an imperial, wide-ruling one, which left its stamp on the general history of ancient India."[1]

Karandhama was the son (an adopted son in Sarkar's opinion) of Khanīnetra in the opinion of most of our sources (*i.e.*, *Vā*, *Bhāg*, *Mārk* and *Mbh*), though of Ativibhūti or Vibhūti according to the *Vish* and *Gar* respectively.

His name is found written in various ways, *viz*., Karandhama,[2] Suvarchas[3] and Balāśva.[4] He was also called Subalāśva and Balakāśva.[5] But his most famous name was Karandhama which is fancifully explained at two places.[6] He was so called because from his agitated hands was produced an army which burnt up his foes.

This famous Karandhama must be distinguished from another king of the same name, who was fourth in descent from Yayāti's son Turvasu.[7] In Pargiter's opinion[8] Karandhama of Vaiśālī belonged to generation no. 38 and his grandson, Marutta, to generation no. 40; while Karandhama and his son Marutta of the Turvasus belonged to generation nos. 40 and 41 respectively. This has induced S. C. Sarkar to suggest that both were identical and that Karandhama of the Turvasus was adopted

1. S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 50
2. *Vā*, 85. 7 *Bhāg*, IX 2. 25 *Vish*, IV 1. 29. *Gar*, I. 138 8. *Mārk*, 121. 21 *Mbh*. XIV 4 16
3. *Mbh*, XIV. 4 9.
4. *Mārk*, 121. 8.
5. *Mārk*, Eng tr., p. 623, n. 3.
6. *Mārk*, 121. 21. *Mbh*, XIV. 4 16.
7. *Hv*, 32. 116-118. *Mat*, 40. 1-2.
8. A I H T, pp 146-147.

by the Vaiśālī line. In view of the express statement of the *Purāṇas*[1] that these Karandhamas and Maruttas were different persons, we find it difficult to accept Sarkar's view, though, as the very remote times are concerned, the probability cannot be entirely precluded.

Karandhama carried out a wide conquest and levied tribute; but the defeated princes (Ikshvāku remnants of the Vaiśālī region in Sarkar's opinion) combined to revolt, and besieged his capital (*'pura'*). Karandhama,[2] however, broke up the siege. He was chosen in svayaṁvara by Vīrā, the daughter of Prince Vīra-chandra[3] (one of the chiefs of Vaiśālī, in Sarkar's opinion,[4] referred to before).

The pair had a son named Avikshita, who learnt the whole of the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas* and the Science of Weapons. This young prince was highly accomplished and was chosen at their svayaṁvaras by seven princesses successively, namely (1) Varā, daughter of Hemadharma; (2) Gaurī, daughter of Sudeva (evidently Sudeva of Kāśī, a contemporary of Avikshita)[5]; (3) Subhadrā, daughter of Balin (of Aṅga, Vaṅga, *etc.*, a contemporary of Avikshita and Marutta and their priest, Saṁvarta); (4) Līlāvatī, daughter of Vīra (and therefore Avikshita's mother's sister or half-sister); (5) Anibhā, daughter of Vīra-bhadra (apparently the same as Vīra or Vīra-chandra above, and thus another sister or half-sister of Avikshita's mother); (6) Mānyavatī, daughter of Bhīma (apparently 'Kratha'-Bhīma of Vidarbha, a contemporary of Avikshita and Marutta); and (7) Kumud-vatī, daughter of Dambha (said to be a successor of the Asura Kujrimbha of Mālava, who was a contemporary of Vatsa, a predecessor of Karandhama). S. C. Sarkar opines[6] that of these the first, second, fourth and fifth marriages were calculated to strengthen legitimacy[7] in Vaiśālī; the third to strengthen

1. *Vā*, 98. 2. *Bd*, III. 74. 2 *Br*, 13 143. *Hv*, 32. 118.

2 The account of Karandhama is given in the *Mā'k*, chs. 121, 124-125 and 128. *Vish*, IV 1. 29 calls him 'very strong'.

3. *Mārk*, 122. 1.

4. S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 50.

5. For the contemporaneity of the rulers under nos. 2, 3 and 6 here see Pargiter, A. I. H. T., pp. 146-147 (dynastic lists).

6. S C. Sarkar, *op cit.*, p. 50.

7 S. C. Sarkar regards Karandhama as an adopted son of his father, Khaninetra. Hence the necessity of legitimacy.

association with the Āṅgirasa priests, who all along controlled the career of Karandhama's line for six generations after him, and who also controlled Balin's big kingdom in the east; and the sixth and seventh marriages were to continue the previous Vaiśālika connection with Vidarbha and Mālava. Those princesses who did not choose him at their svayamvaras, Avikshita forcibly carried off by fighting rival princes. This high-handedness produced a catastrophe, when he seized Vaiśālinī, daughter of King 'Viśāla' of Vaidiśa[1] (wrong for Vaideha or Vaiśālī in the opinion of Sarkar).

According to the long story of Avikshita and Vaiśālinī (given in *Mārk*, chs. 122-131) Avikshita refused to rule as king (for reasons proceeding from his own standard of heroism) and, therefore, when Karandhama and Vīrā left for 'vānaprastha' in a Bhārgava āśrama[2] (*Mārk*, 128. 35), their grandson Marutta had to be anointed the king of Vaiśālī We shall examine this when we take up the reign of Avikshita.

The various wars and struggles in the times of Karandhama, Avikshita and Marutta given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (chs. 121-131) have been interpreted by Pargiter[3] in a different way. He believes that these were really speaking Haihaya raids. By this time the Haihaya conquests touched the kingdoms of Vaiśālī and Videha. The Vaiśālī realm was then under the rule of Karandhama, his son Avikshita and the latter's son Marutta, three noted kings It is said that Karandhama was besieged by a confederacy of kings and at length defeated them; that Avikshita had a great conflict with the king of Vidiśā and others and was captured, but Karandhama and his allies beat them and rescued him, and that Marutta had a contest with the Nāgas. There can be little doubt, says Pargiter, that these enemies were

1. "There is an obvious error here, as in several other known Epic-Puranic instances, there is a confusion between Vaidiśa and Vaideha in the texts. Here, too, obviously, Vaideha is meant—or, better still, probably Vaiśālī itself is meant,—for if the king is Viśāla and his daughter Vaiśālinī, his city cannot be other than Vaiśālī At most it can be Vaideha, Vaiśālī itself having been taken possession of by Karandhama at this time. Or, it may have been a new Vaiśālī after the old one fell to Karandhama" (S. C Sarkar, *op cit.*, p. 51, n.)

2 "This Bhṛigu āśrama may be the same as Bhṛigu-tuṅga, on a mountain on the east bank of the upper Gaṇḍakī in Nepal. But, since Aurva is mentioned in the text here, it should rather be the Bhrigu āśrama or Aurva āśrama in Ballia district" (S. C Sarkar, *op cit.*, p 52, n. 2).

3. A. I. H. T., p. 268.

the Haihayas, for Vidiśā was in the Haihaya region, and that they were beaten off. There is no indication that the Haihayas conquered the Vaiśāla kings, and Marutta was a famous king and Chakravartin. The Haihaya conquests eastwards must have been stopped by some kingdom, and tradition suggests that it was these Vaiśāla kings who did that. Thus the Haihayas, who had overwhelmed Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā, were now arrested by the Vaiśāla kings.

If this interpretation of Pargiter be accepted, Karandhama deserves great credit for saving Vaiśālī and north India from the devastating raids of the Haihayas.

Karandhama was a famous king of ancient times. He reigned at the beginning of the Tretā age.[1] The *Mahābhārata* mentions a Kārandhama-tīrtha[2] as one of the five important tīrthas. This must have been established after king Karandhama of Vaiśālī or a Ṛishi of that name. One fact in favour of the king is that while he was religious-minded, no Ṛishi of the name of Karandhama is so far known to us. The *Mahābhārata* knows Karandhama as a pious king of olden days.[3] The religious nature of the king is known also from the *Skanda-Purāṇa* which speaks of him as a 'rājarshi'.[4] In this *Purāṇa* there is a conversation between Mahākāla Siddha and king Karandhama which extends over two chapters,[5] where religious matters have been discussed. His religious temperament is also indicated by his going to the forest with his wife Vīrā after relinquishing kingly office.[6] After practising very arduous austerities there for a long time the king quitted his body and was followed by his wife after some time.

Karandhama seems to have enjoyed a long reign.

The *Mahābhārata*[7] depicts him as a bold king who was not afraid of the feudatory princes' onslaughts. He was ever busy

1 *Vā*, 85 7 On his son (*Mbh*, XIV. 4. 17).

2 *Mbh*, I. 216 3. The other four tīrthas are Āgastya, Saubhadra, Pauloma and Bhāradvājiya (I. 216 3 4, with commentary).

3. *Mbh*, II 8 16 (in the palace of Yama) and XIII. 165 53 (enumeration). His territory is not indicated. There were more Karandhamas than one.

4 *Skanda-Purāṇa*, I 2. 40 129

5 *Ibid.*, I 2. 40, 41.

6 *Mārk*, 128. 30-35.

7 *Mbh*, XIV. 4 10-16, 5 8-12.

with encompassing the well-being of the people, being devoted to the Brāhmaṇa, speaking the truth, practising purity and controlling his senses and thoughts. His family priest was Aṅgiras.[1]

With Karandhama begins a new age in Vaisalian imperial history; he flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age (which coincides with a new age at Vaiśālī), began the movement for stopping the Haihaya raids, and from his time the influence of the Āṅgirasa priests increased at the court of Vaiśālī. One more significant feature is found when we examine the genealogical table of Vaiśālī. Up to Khanīnetra (step no. 35) we find that the number of rulers or generations at Vaiśālī (as known to us) was only eleven;[2] but between Karandhama (step no. 38) and Sumati (step no. 64) we find very few breaks (which are step nos. 43, 51, 53 and 61): kings representing all the other steps are available. This means that tradition from Karandhama onwards is kept better.

13. AVIKSHITA

He was the son of Karandhama and is called Kārandhama[3] also for that reason. His name is found written in many ways, *viz.*, Avikshit,[4] Avikshit,[5] Āvikshit,[6] Avikshita,[7] Avikshita[8] and the abbreviation of the last Avīkshi.[9]

He flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age[10] and should not be confused with another Avikshita[11] who was the son of Kuru and father of Parikshit.

The early account of Avikshita has already been given under Karandhama as those events are said to have taken place in the reign of Karandhama. From this *Mārkandeya-Purāna* account we know the names of his numerous wives and the significance of those marriages.

1 *Mbh*, XIV. 5 8.
2 See *supra*.
3 *Mbh*, XIV. 4 17, 8. 34.
4 *Vish*, IV. 1 30. *Mbh*, XIV 4. 19 ff.
5. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 26.
6. *Vā*, 85. 8.
7 *Gar*, I. 138. 8.
8. *Mārk*, chs. 122 ff.
9. *Mārk*, 130. 22, 25; 131. 9, 11, 17, 23, 32.
10. *Mbh*, XIV. 4.17.
11. *Mbh*, I. 94. 52.

It is stated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[1] that Avikshita refused to rule and so Karandhama anointed his (Avikshita's) son, Marutta, on the throne, before taking to the 'vānaprastha' āśrama[2]. We are unable to accept this statement in view of the fact that all other evidences (esp. the *Mahābhārata*) regard Avikshita as a ruling prince.

One important service rendered to Vaisalian monarchy by Avikshita is his contribution to checking the Haihaya raids. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* states how he was involved in a struggle with the Vaidiśa city (*i.e.*, Vidiśā in Central India) on account of his liking for Vaiśālinī, daughter of king Viśāla of the Vaidiśa city.[3] Pargiter[4] regards this enemy as the Haihayas. The tradition of his initial defeat at the hands of the Vaidiśa king is probably only to show to what extent the Haihayas were powerful.

Avikshita was a famous king of the past.[5] He is known to the authors of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[6] as the father of Marutta Āyogava. He is known to the *Mahābhārata*[7] as well where a short account of this king is given. All the kings are said to be under his control; and alike by virtue of his riches and of prowess, he became their emperor. He was given to sacrifices and performed hundred horse-sacrifices. The powerful and learned Aṅgiras himself served him as priest.[8]

14. MARUTTA THE GREAT

Marutta is mentioned in six *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*[9] in the Vaisalian genealogical lists. Everywhere (except the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* whose text is corrupt) he is known as the son of Avikshita. The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* calls him the son of Prāṁśu who

1. *Mārk*, ch. 128.

2. The *Brahmānda-Purāna* (III 61) omits rulers from Prajāni to Avikshita. Hence the omission of Avikshita by this *Purāna* may not have any special significance.

3. *Mārk*, chs. 122-124

4. A I. H. T., p. 268.

5. *Mbh*, I. 1. 238.

6. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 21. *Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 6.

7. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 17-22; 5. 12-13.

8. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 22.

9. *Mārk*, chs. 127-131. *Vish*, IV. 1. 31-34. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 4-7. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 26-28. *Vā*, 85. 9-11 (calling him Hanutta, *v l.* Marutta). *Gar*, I. 138. 9. *Mbh*, XIV. 3-10.

flourished long ago. As a matter of fact, this *Purāṇa* has omitted kings from Prajāni (Prāṁśu's successor) to Avikshita (Marutta's predecessor) and hence has done the inevitable thing for concealing its ignorance or omission. Marutta as the son of Avikshita is known to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*[1] and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[2] as well. Three *Purāṇas* mention him while tracing the lineage of Ilavilā, daughter of Tṛṇabindu of Vaiśālī.[3]

Marutta is a celebrated king of ancient times. He is known not only to the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* but to the *Brāhmaṇas* as well, while his priest Saṁvarta is known to the *Ṛg-Veda*.[4] He is compared with Vishṇu, Vāsava and Prajāpati.[5] The *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*[6] call him a Chakravartin,[7] *i e.*, a sovereign who conquered surrounding kingdoms or brought them under his authority, and established a paramount position over more or less extensive regions around his own kingdom. According to the *Mahābhārata* he is one of the sixteen great kings[8] of ancient India. Another list in the *Mahābhārata*[9] speaks of twenty-four kings and Marutta is included there. He is among the five remarkable emperors (*samrājah*) of yore,[10] who gained the title *Samrāt*.[11] There he is noted for his prosperity. The list which describes the descent of the sword of justice[12]

1. *Ait. Br*, VIII 21

2 *Śat. Br*, XIII. 5. 4 6

3. *Bd*, III 8 35 *Vā* 70 30 *Lg*. I 65 56 *Vā* calls him Mānasa, while in *Lg* he is known as Mānava

4 *RV*., VIII 54 2 (*Ved. Ind*, II, p 414)

5 *Mbh*, XIV. 4 24, 5. 14 and *Bd*, III. 61. 4 respectively.

6 *Vish*, IV. 1. 34 *Bd*, III. 61 7. *Bhāg*, IX 2 26 *Vā*, 85. 9, 12. *Mārk*, 129 3 *Mbh*, XIV. 4 23

7 The ideal characteristics of a chakravartin are explained in *Vā*, 57 68-80 and *Bd*, II 29. 74-88. *cf* *Mat*, 142 63-73 Term explained in reference to Marutta, *Mārk*. 129 6; 131 49.

8 The list of sixteen celebrated monarchs and their doings is called the *Shodaśa-rājika* and is given twice in the *Mahābhārata*, *viz*., VII 55-70 (Marutta in VII. 55 37-50) and XII 29. 18-144 (Marutta in XII 29 18-24) It may not be without significance that the name of Marutta appears first in both the lists

9. *Mbh*, I 1 225-230 (Marutta in I 1. 227)

10 *Mbh*, II 15. 15-16 (Marutta in II. 15. 16).

11 He who conquers the whole of Bhārata-varsha is celebrated as *samrāt*. *Vā*, 45 86 Bhārata-varsha is explained in all aspects in *Vā*, 45. 72-85.

12 *Mbh*, XII. 166 68-81 (Marutta in XII. 166. 77). This list, like other lists, does not aim at chronological order; yet it shows who were remembered as righteous rulers. Pargiter (A. I. H. T., p 42) regards it as a Brahmanical compilation.

includes Marutta who received the sword from Muchukunda and passed it over to Raivata. This shows that he had reputation for justice. Marutta is included in many other enumerations of pious or generous kings in the *Mahābhārata*[1] which shows him to be a very celebrated monarch. In some lists[2] Marutta's mere name is mentioned and nothing is said of his father or his famous Āṅgirasa priest, Saṁvarta. But there is no doubt that at all these places only Marutta Āvikshita is intended, because among the kings bearing that name he was the most famous—it is he who is regarded as one of the sixteen great kings of ancient India. In one of the lists[3] the name Marutta is mentioned twice, evidently with a view to accommodating another Marutta as well (presumably of the dynasty of Turvasu).[4] But there, too, while one Marutta is mentioned merely by name (*śl.* 10), the other is called 'the powerful king of the earth Marutta' (*śl.* 16).

Marutta is very famous for his sacrifices One such sacrifice[5] was performed against the wishes of Indra who had employed Bṛihaspati, son of Aṅgiras, as his priest and deprived him (Marutta) of his family priest's services.[6] Marutta then chose Samvarta and by his aid performed magnificent sacrifices.[7] Indra was also later pleased and the sacrificial assembly was attended by gods. Many gifts were made to the Brāhmanas. Golden vessels were used, it is said. These things are echoed in

1. *Mbh*, II. 8 7-28 (Marutta in II 8 10, 16 -among the kings in the palace of Yama), III. 94. 17-22 (Marutta in III 94 21—a list of meritorious kings); XII. 234. 16-36 (Marutta in XII 234. 28—a list of kings who gained great merit by liberality or devotion to Brāhmanas), XIII. 137. 3-27 (Marutta in XIII.137. 16 —a list of kings who gained great merit by liberality or devotion to Brāhmanas), XIII. 165. 48-59 (Marutta in XIII. 165 52—a list of pious kings)

2 *Mbh*, I 1 227, II. 8. 10, 16, II. 15 16; III 94. 21, XII. 166. 77; XIII. 165. 52

3. *Mbh*, II 8 10, 16

4. In some other lists of kings in the *Mahābhārata* Marutta is not mentioned at all, *e g* , II 53 21-23, IV. 56. 9-10, VI 9. 5-9, XII 8. 33-34, XIII 76 25-27; XIII. 115. 68-75. Of these the non-inclusion of this great conqueror and sacrificer among the kings who did not take meat in the month of Kārtika (*Mbh*, XIII. 115. 68-75) appears to be rather significant. For an unidentified Marutta see *Mbh*, II. 7 17 (in the palace of Indra along with Ṛishis), also XII. 49. 83. The first appears to be a Ṛishi

5. *Mbh*, VII. 55 37-50, XII 29 18-24, XIV. 3-10 (a most detailed account). *Bd*, III. 61 4-7

6. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 22; 5. 8, 6. 3, 7. 14; 7 3

7 *Mbh*, III 129. 16-17; V. 111. 22, VII. 55. 38-50; XII 20. 13; XII 29. 18-24, XIV. 3-10. *Mārk*, 129 11-18. *Rām*, VII. 18 is a fable.

the Epic-Puranic literature.[1] Marutta gave his daughter to Saṁvarta.[2] Yudhishṭhira who flourished much later was highly benefited by Marutta's sacrifices as he procured gold from the Himālayas[3] which had been left there by Marutta and employed it for his own purpose.[4]

The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* says Saṁvarta inaugurated Marutta Āvikshita Kāmapri[5] ('descendant of Kāmapra') with the 'Aindra Mahābhisheka' ceremony, *i.e.*, the great inauguration ceremony of Indra (VIII. 4. 21). In his effort to extract history out of legend S. C. Sarkar[6] interprets 'Indra' as "a rival emperor (an 'Indra')". After Marutta became superior to the previous emperor in power, he celebrated the occasion by the 'Aindra Mahābhisheka' ceremony (coronation as the 'Indra' of the time), as he had now become the new 'Indra'.

It was probably this 'Aindra Mahābhisheka' coronation sacrifice of Marutta[7] in the Vaiśālī region which was sought to be interrupted by a 'Rāvaṇa'[8] (apparently in vain). This same Rāvaṇa may have subdued the Nāga capital of Bhogavatī,[9] for the Nāgas were under the protection of Marutta as we know from the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*.

The *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* (XIII. 5. 4. 6) shows Marutta Āvikshita as a performer of the horse-sacrifice and speaks highly of his prestige saying that the Maruts became his guards-men, Agni his chamberlain, and the Viśve-Devas his counsellors.

Among the places of his sacrifices may be mentioned

1 *Mbh*, VII. 55. 43-44: XII 29. 22-23. *Mārk*, 129. 15-18 *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 27-28 *Vish*, IV. 1. 32-33. Also *Śat. Br*, XIII. 5 4. 6 and *Śānkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XVI. 9 15

2. *Mbh*, XII. 234. 28; XIII 137. 16

3 For the Muñjavat mountain situated on the ridge of the Himālayas (*Mbh*, XIV. 8. 1) from where the gold was procured, see Pargiter, *Mārk*, Eng. trans., p. 655, n. 1.

4. *Mbh*, XIV. 3. 20-21; 63 2, 9; 89. 21.

5 *Ait. Br.*, Eng. tr by Keith in H. O. S., 25, p. 337. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 135.

6. S. C. Sarkar, *op cit*, p. 53. *Cf* A. I. S. H, p. 198, n. 3.

7. *Rām*, VII. 18. It is called here 'Māheśvara Satra' (VII. 18. 16). Īśvara = Indra.

8. As is well-known, 'Rāvana' is not a name but a title, and many South Indian or Rākshasa princes bore this title (Tamil Iṟeivaṉ or Iṟaivaṉ = god, king, sovereign, lord, J R. A. S., 1914, p. 285) Stories of several Rāvanas have, however, been amalgamated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

9. *Rām*, VII. 23. 5. For Bhogavatī, the city of the Nāgas in Pātāla, see Sörensen, *Index*, p. 147.

Uśīrabīja at the Lake Jāmbūnada[1] in the north, probably in remote Vāhlīka, Plakshāvataraṇa (Yamunātīrtha)[2] on the Yamunā near Kurukshetra and the north of Himavat near Meru on the golden base of the mountain[3] where the Brāhmaṇas left much gold. Probably it is this Marutta of the Gaṇḍakī Valley who is mentioned in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*[4] as having invited Jaya and Vijaya to his sacrifice (*yajñakarmaṇi*) and given them much wealth. Due to curses these two, *i.e.*, Jaya and Vijaya, were turned into an elephant and a crocodile respectively living on the bank of the Gaṇḍakī river[5]—a location which favours the identification with this generous and sacrificing Marutta of the Vaiśālī region.

Marutta, besides being a sacrificer, was a conqueror as well. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[6] is full of praise for his achievements. It gives details of his victory over the Nāgas.[7] Pargiter[8] regards the Nāga attacks as the Haihaya raids.[9] Thus Marutta finally checked the Haihayas and saved Northern India from their attacks and the consequent devastations.

Marutta married seven wives.[10] They were:—(1) Prabhāvatī, daughter of 'Vidarbha' or the king of Vidarbha; (2) Sauvīrī, daughter of 'Suvīra' or the king of Sauvīra; (3) Sukeśī, daughter of Ketuvīrya Māgadha (*i.e.*, of Ketuvīrya of the Eastern Ānava dynasty of Aṅga, Vaṅga, *etc.*, of which kingdom Magadha with Girivraja was then an integral part); (4) Kekayī, (elder) daughter of the Madra (or Kekaya) king Sindhu-vīrya; (5) Sairindhrī, (another younger) daughter of the Kekaya king; (6) Vapushmatī, daughter of the (Ānava) king of Sindhu; and (7) Suśobhanā, daughter of 'Chedirāja' or the Chedi king (Kaiśika or more probably Chidi). These matrimonial alliances must have strengthened his position immensely. His father

1. *Mbh*, V. 111. 22-23 (with commentary).
2. *Mbh*, III. 129. 16-17.
3. *Mbh*, XIV. 3. 21; 4. 25-27.
4. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, II. 4. 28. 6-8.
5. *Ibid.*, II. 4. 28. 18.
6. *Mārk*, chs. 129 (beginning), 131 (end).
7. *Ibid.*, 129-131.
8. See *supra*.
9. These Nāgas might be of Rājagṛiha or Assam or some other region as well. But at the time of which we are speaking, the Haihayas were very powerful. Hence Pargiter's conjecture.
10. *Mārk*, ch. 131.

Avikshita too had married princesses from the houses of Vidarbha and Aṅga.[1] By looking into the genealogical chart of Pargiter[2] we may conjecture that the father-in-law nos. 1, 3 and 7 of Marutta were Kunti (successor of Bhīma, father-in-law of Avikshita), Aṅga (successor of Balin, father-in-law of Avikshita) and Chidi (by equating 'Chedirāja' with Chidi) respectively.

Marutta is said to have had eighteen sons[3] of whom the eldest was Narishyanta who succeeded him. He seems to have lived to the age of eighty-five years (interpreting '85000 years' in that way), and in old age he retired to 'vānaprastha' after anointing Narishyanta as his successor.[4] His daughter had been given to Saṁvarta in marriage.[5] S. C. Sarkar[6] supposes two other daughters for Marutta, *viz.*, Ilinā, mother of Dushyanta who was adopted into the royal family, and Mamatā, wife of Samvarta's brother Utathya and of Bṛihaspati whose (Mamatā's) son Bharadvāja's son (or grandson) Vitatha (Vidathin) was adopted as Bharata's successor.

The *Śatapatha-Brāhmana*[7] (XIII. 5. 4. 6) calls Marutta Āvikshita as an Āyogava king. There does not appear to be any doubt that the kings of the Vaiśālī region were not considered of a very high lineage due to Nābhāga's marriage with a Vaiśya girl. The three Vaiśya hymn-makers mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāna* were probably of the Vaiśālī region. But, it appears, later on the kings of the Vaiśālī region improved their position[8] presumably due to matrimonial alliances and sacrificial activities. Hence it does not look reasonable to interpret Āyogava in a sense in which the *Manu-Smriti* (X. 12) interprets it, *i.e.*, a product of a Vaiśya girl and a Śūdra male. Later on, geographical and tribal names, *e.g.*, Vaideha, Māgadha and Sūta were given derogatory meanings which cannot be accepted at their

1. In the case of Ketuvirya Māgadha I have accepted the suggestion of S. C. Sarkar who regards him as king of Anga. It may be pointed out that Vasu Chaidya and Brihadratha of Magadha belonged to step nos. 78 and 79 respectively while Marutta the Great belonged to step no. 40.
2. A I H T., pp. 146-147
3. *Mārk*, 131. 48, 132. 3
4. *Mārk*, ch. 132.
5. *Mbh*, XIII. 137 16.
6. S. C. Sarkar, *op cit.*, p. 55.
7. *Cf.* also *Śānkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XVI. 9. 14. 16; *Maitrāyaṇī-Upanishad*, I. 4.
8. *Mārk*, 132. 4 calls Marutta 'a lordly Kshatriya' (*Maruttah Kshatriyarshabhaḥ*). Also see *Mark*, 136. 15 (read with 133. 38).

face. The term Āyogava[1] literally means 'belonging to the stock of Ayogu'. This name (or title) seems to have been forgotten later on. But it appears it has something to do with the use of iron (etymologically, *ayaso gantā*) in that remote age.

Marutta was a great figure. His greatness is generally emphasised, both in war and in righteous government,[2] and it is remembered that he "regarded his subjects as his children"[3] (like Aśoka Maurya more than a thousand years later). He was a great conqueror as well as a great sacrificer; enormously opulent and exploiting Himalayan gold-bearing regions, he was unstinted in his gifts; in his reign 'chaityas' were raised all over the land[4] (again, as in the days of Aśoka).[5]

Pargiter rightly regards Marutta as 'the greatest king'[6] of 'Dishṭa's line' (*i.e.*, the dynasty of Nābhānedishṭha).

15. NARISHYANTA

Narishyanta was the eldest of the eighteen sons of Marutta.[7] Some *Purāṇas*[8] do not mention his brothers at all. S. C. Sarkar

1. *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, Vol. I, p. 682. See also under 'Ayogu', p. 398.
2. S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit*, p 52.
3. *Mārk*, 129. 4
4. *Mbh*, XII. 29. 21.
5. There were two Karandhamas, one in the Vaiśālī dynasty and the other in Turvasu's lineage. (Distinguished in *Vā*, 98. 2; *Bd*, III. 74. 2; *Br*, 13. 143 and *Hv*, 32. 118.) The former had a son Avikshita and grandson, the famous Marutta, the latter had a son Marutta. They are sometimes confused, *e g.*, *Br*, 13. 144-145; *Hv*, 32 119-120 and *Mbh*, XII. 234. 28 (XIII. 137. 16 is correct). This Marutta, son of Karandhama, was fifth in descent from Yayāti's son Turvasu (*Hv*, 32. 116-121; *Vish*, IV. 16. 3). There was, another Marutta, fifth in descent from Śaśabindu (*Mat*, 44. 24; *Vā*, 94. 24, *Bḍ*, III. 70. 25; *Br*, 15. 7; *Lg*, I. 68. 29; *Hv*, 36. 4-7; and probably *Mbh*, XII. 29. 88), who had been vanquished by Māndhātṛi. For an unidentified Marutta, see *Bd*, III 68. 1-6; *Vā*, 92. 1-6; *Mbh*, XII. 49. 83. In order to find a way out of this situation, S. C. Sarkar takes recourse to an ingenious suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 53): "Marutta's name occurs in several dynastic lists in about the same time (as evident from synchronisms), apart from the Turvaśa line to which he primarily belongs,—namely, the Vaiśālī, the Paurava, the Videha, and the Yādava (Vidarbha) king-lists. This position was apparently due to the overlordship of Marutta over these ruling families, and temporary or permanent 'grafting' by adoption or conquest or royal marriage, to legitimatise the overlordship". Names of kings with step nos. within brackets are furnished from Pargiter's synchronistic table:—Marutta of the Turvasu line (41), Marutta of Vaiśālī (40), Maru of Videha (38) and Marutta of the Yādava line (Vidarbha) (30).
6. F. E. Pargiter, 'Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology', J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 25, n. 1.
7. *Mārk*, 131. 48; 132. 3.
8. *Vish*, IV 1. 34. *Vā*, 85. 12; 70. 30 (calling him Charishyanta). *Gar*, I. 138. 9. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 7; 8. 35. *Lg*, I. 63. 56.

believes[1] that Narishyanta and his son Dama of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* are the same as the famous Dushyanta and Bharata-'Damana' respectively and that they were adopted by the house of Vaiśālī.

Narishyanta performed a sacrifice at which he gave so much wealth to the Brāhmaṇas that they required no more later on. Consequently when he began a sacrifice again, he got no Brāhmaṇas then to conduct it after the sacrifice had been begun. After considerable difficulty he could appoint a few sacrificial priests at his sacrifice.[2] From this it appears that he was a great sacrificer and donor.

His wife was Indrasenā, a princess descended from Babhru. She gave birth to a son named Dama. He learnt different branches of learning from Vṛishaparvan, Daitya Dundubhi of Tapovana, Śakti and Ārshṭisheṇa. Sumanā, daughter of Chāru-karman (*v. l.* Chāru-dharman), king of Daśārṇa, chose him at a svayamvara. He was opposed by two princes, *viz.*, Mahānāda (*v.l.* Mahānanda) (the Madra king's son) and Vapushmat (the son of Sankrandana, king of Vidarbha). He proved too strong for them and returned with his bride. After a long time, when Sumanā conceived a child, king Narishyanta anointed Dama to the kingdom and departed to the forest with his wife Indrasenā.

Narishyanta had a tragic end. He was killed in the forest by Vapushmat, son of Saṅkrandana and king of the southern region, who had been defeated by Dama at the svayamvara of Sumanā.

16. DAMA

He is generally known as Dama.[3] Only one source calls him Tama.[4]

The one event known of his reign is the revenge he took of his aged father's murder by Vapushmat, king of the southern country. Having learnt of the sad event he invaded the capital

1. S C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
2. *Mārk*, ch. 132.
3. *Mārk*, chs. 133-136. *Vā*, 85. 12; 70. 30. *Vish*, IV. 1. 35. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 29. *Bd*, III. 61. 8; 8. 35. *Lg*, I. 63. 56. *Cf. Br*, 7. 27 (misplaced).
4. *Gar*, I. 138. 9.

of Vapushmat. (A full description is given of this Deccan expedition.) There was a tumultuous battle. The enemy, with all his relations, was slain. Then he offered the water-oblation to his dear father with the very blood of Vapushmat and also offered *piṇḍa* to him with his flesh, and returned to his city.

With this account closes the narrative of the solar kings in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.

An ancient king, Damana by name, is available in the *Mahābhārata*[1] in an enumeration. He may or may not be this Dama.

17. RĀJYAVARDHANA

He is called Rājyavardhana,[2] Rājyavardhanaka,[3] Rājavardhana[4] and Rāshṭravardhana.[5]

His queen was Mānini, daughter of Vidūratha,[6] the king of Dakshiṇāpatha (evidently the successor of Vapushmat of the episode referred to above,—who had no other way but to make peace with Dama by submission and a subsequent matrimonial alliance). A tender story is given about Rājyavardhana's first grey hairs and Mānini's grief at that discovery. The pair repaired to the Guru-Viśāla forest in the hills of Kāmarūpa and began to propitiate the sun-god at his temple there. Consequently he obtained the boon of equal longevity and good and happy life for all concerned.[7] He was a philosopher-king and his rule was an ideal and pacific one.

Rājyavardhana is the last king of the line of Dishṭa of whom the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* gives any detail. Then we are faced with a great difficulty which is almost insurmountable. He had sons and grandsons[8] and his dynasty continued; but we do not possess any details about it.

1. *Mbh*, I. 1. 226.
2. *Mārk*, 109. 4. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 29.
3. *Bḍ*, III. 8. 35.
4. *Vish*, IV. 1. 36. *Gar*, I. 138. 9. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 29 (*v. l.*). Rājavardha in *Gar*, I. 138. 10.
5. *Vā*, 85. 13. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 8.
6. This is another Vidūratha, of Kuṇḍina in Vidarbha or Berar, not of the Nirvindhyā region in Mālava.
7. *Mārk*, chs. 109-110. The story has been narrated in connection with sun-worship.
8. *Mārk*, 110. 34.

CHAPTER IV

A PERIOD OF SHADOWY KINGS

(*Sudhṛiti to Budha*)

18. SUDHṚITI

Due to lack of details the successors of Rājyavardhana appear to be shadowy figures, except only three, *viz.*, Tṛiṇabindu, Viśāla and Sumati, about whom a few things are incidentally known. We shall, however, notice all the known kings below.

Rājyavardhana was succeeded by Sudhṛiti according to the most of our Puranic sources. But according to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*[1] there were also Suvṛiddhi and Kevala who ruled between Rājyavardhana and Sudhṛiti. We suggest that here the *Purāṇa* has made a mistake, because Suvṛiddhi may be the same as Sudhṛiti who came later and soon we come across another Kevala too. Thus there appears to be a confusion in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* genealogy of Vaiśālī.

Sudhṛiti[2] was the son of Rājyavardhana. His mother's probable name appears to be Māninī, who was the daughter of Vidūratha (king of the South) and the queen of Rājyavardhana.[3] Sudhṛiti must have had many brothers, because Rājyavardhana is said to have had many sons and grandsons.[4] He might have proved to be a source of strength to the kingdom during the period of his father's penances for securing the welfare of his subjects.

19. NARA

Nara (Saudhṛiteya)[5] was the son of Sudhṛiti.[6] A variant reading of his name given only in one source (in a foot-note)

1. *Vish*, IV. 1. 38-39.
2. *Gar*, I. 138. 10. *Bhāg*, IX. 2 29. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 9, 8. 35. *Vish*, IV. 1. 39. *Vā*, 85. 13 (Sudhṛitim).
3. *Mārk*, 109. 10.
4. *Mārk*, 110. 34.
5. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 29.
6. *Vā*, 85. 13. *Vish*, IV. 1. 40. *Gar*, I. 138. 10 (*v. l.* Manas). *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 29. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 9, 8. 35.

is Manas.[1] If the tradition recorded in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* is correct, he might have been able to see his grand-father, Rājyavardhana.[2]

Between Nara and his successor Kevala the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* (IV. 1. 41) inserts a king Chandra by name. But we shall have occasion to meet Chandra (or Suchandra) much later in this dynasty. So this insertion, unsupported by any other *Purāṇa*, may not be accepted by us.

20. KEVALA

Kevala was the son of Nara according to most of our sources.[3] Only the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* calls him the son of Chandra.[4]

21. BANDHUMAT

He was the son of Kevala.[5] Another variant reading of his name available is Dhundhumat.[6]

22. VEGAVAT

He was the son of Bandhumat.[7]

If king Viśāla of Vaiśālī, who flourished in the Tretā age and offered *piṇḍa* to his forefathers at Gayā, is identified with the famous founder of Vaiśālī City, Vegavat, being his great grandfather, is represented as the killer of many ṛishis. His (another) name is said to be Kṛishṇa, *i.e.*, Black. Due to his sins he had to remain in hell for some time till he was released on account of the *piṇḍa* of Viśāla.[8]

23. BUDHA

The name is given variously as Budha[9] or Bandhu.[10]

1. *Gar*, I. 138. 10 (*v. l.*).
2. *Mārk*, 110. 34.
3. *Vā*, 85. 14. *Gar*, I. 138. 10. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 9; 8. 36.
4. *Vish*, IV. 1. 41.
5. *Vā*, 85. 14. *Vish*, IV. 1. 43. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 9; 8. 36.
6. *Gar*, I. 138. 10.
7. *Vā*, 85. 14. *Vish*, IV. 1. 44. *Gar*, I. 138. 11. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 10; 8. 36.
8. The story of Viśāla and his forefathers is given in *Nāradīya*, II. 44. 26-41; *Varāha*, 7. 13-26; *Vā*, 111. 7-15; *Gar*, 84. 37-43; *Ag*, 115. 54-59.
9. *Vā*, 85. 15. *Vish*, IV. 1. 45. *Gar*, I. 138. 11. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 10; 8. 36.
10. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30.

If king Viśāla of Vaiśālī, who flourished in the Tretā age and offered *piṇḍa* to his forefathers at Gayā, is identified with the famous founder of Vaiśālī City, Budha, being his grand-father, is represented as cruel, a killer of the Brāhmaṇas and a sinner. His (another) name is said to be Rakta (*v. l.* Pīta in *Varāha*, 7. 17, meaning the Yellow), *i.e.*, Red. Due to his sins, he had to remain in hell for some time till he was released on account of the *piṇḍa* of Viśāla.[1]

The unpopular acts of Vegavat and Budha must have accelerated the decline of the monarchy which had already set in. Need was felt of a vigorous ruler who might rise equal to the occasion.

1. For references see *supra*.

CHAPTER V

THE RESURGENCE OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Tṛiṇabindu*)

24. TṚIṆABINDU

It was Tṛiṇabindu who saved Vaisalian monarchy from total collapse and gave it a new lease of life for eleven generations.

Tṛiṇabindu is said to be the son of Budha in the Puranic accounts.[1] But this may not mean much. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] the father and mother of Viśāla, who are Tṛiṇabindu and Alambushā respectively according to the *Purāṇas*, are said to be Ikshvāku and Alambushā. This presents a difficulty because Ikshvāku, who was one of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata, flourished much early (step no. 2) as king of Ayodhyā according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself,[3] and not just before king Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśālī City (step no. 53 in Pargiter). Thus this reference may mean one or more of the following things:—

(1) That as Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśālī City, is shown as the son of Ikshvāku, a son of Manu Vaivasvata, it may be presumed (or, the tradition asks us to presume) that the city of Vaiśālī was founded much early. Ikshvāku belongs to step no. 2 in Pargiter's list. So Viśāla would belong to step no. 3. And, in reality, step no. 3 represents Nābhāga in Vaisalian history, who had become a Vaiśya. So the phonetic similarity between Vaiśya (Viś) and Vaiśālī may not be accidental.[4]

(2) That probably the whole thing has been confused, the list was begun with Ikshvāku, several intervening names were omitted and Ikshvāku was given a wrong wife, Alambushā.

(3) That this was Ikshvāku II (different from Manu Vaivasvata's son) who married Alambusā (or Alambushā).

1. *Vā*, 85. 15. *Vish*, IV. 1. 46. *Gar*, I. 138. 11. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 10; 8. 36 (in Paulastyas' account).

2. *Rām*, I. 47. 11 (Ikshvāku), 12 (Alambushā).

3. *Rām*, I. 70. 21; II. 110. 6-7.

4. *Cf.* the suggestions of Hewitt (J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 262) and V. Rangacharya (*Vedic India*, Part I, p. 426) regarding the connection between Vaiśya and Vaiśālī.

(4) That the father of Viśāla (and, for that reason, the dynasty of Vaiśāli) had Ikshvāku blood in him.[1] This is supported by the fact that one of the clans of the Vajjian Republic, which flourished much later, was called the Aikshvāka.

(5) That Ikshvāku was an alternative name for Tṛiṇabindu[2] because of (a) the genealogical position of the former as the father of Viśāla; (b) Ikshvāku's being the husband of Alambushā, who was really the wife of Tṛiṇabindu; and (c) the interchangeable character of the terms Ikshvāku and Tṛiṇabindu in the Epic-Puranic sources where the glories of the Vaisalian rulers are sung. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] says that "by the favour (*prasāda*) of Ikshvāku all the Vaiśālika kings were long-lived, great-souled, valorous and highly virtuous"; while the *Purāṇas*[4] state, almost in identical terms, that "by the favour (*prasāda*)[5] of Tṛiṇabindu all the Vaiśālika[6] kings were long-lived, great-souled, valorous and very virtuous." The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[7] says that "these Vaiśāla kings maintained the reputation of Tṛiṇabindu". Thus, reading in between the lines we feel that this Ikshvāku of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is either no other than Tṛiṇabindu himself or this is the name of the stock.

S. C. Sarkar[8] suggests that Tṛiṇabindu was "a local prince who rose to eminence." From the emphasis attached to him he may be regarded as the founder of a sub-line in Vaisalian monarchy.

The *Purāṇas*[9] say that Tṛiṇabindu flourished at the third 'mouth' of the Tretā age. According to Pargiter,[10] the Tretā age lasted from step nos. 41 to 65. In the case of Vaiśāli it has to

1. Rangacharya (*Vedic India*, I, p. 426) infers that the Vaiśālī line was a branch of the Ikshvākus.

2. The *Rām* (VII. 2) knows Rājarshi Trinabindu, his āśrama (called Tṛiṇabindvāśrama), his un-named daughter and her husband, Pulastya. The mention of Pulastya leaves no doubt that this Tṛinabindu was of Vaiśālī. Quite naturally enough, his āśrama was in the Himalayan area (*Rām*, VII. 2.7).

3. *Rām*, I 47. 18.

4. *Vish*, IV. 1. 61. *Vā*, 85. 22. *Bd*, III. 61. 17-18.

5. *V. l prabhāva* (*Bḍ*), lit. influence.

6 *V l. Vaiśālaka* (*Bd*).

7. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 36.

8. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 58.

9. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 11; 8 37. *Vā*, 70. 31; 85. 15. *Lg*, I. 63. 57.

10. A. I. H. T., p. 197.

be slightly modified from nos. 41-65 to nos. 38-65 as Karandhama (step. no. 38) is specifically stated[1] to have flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age.[2] If we divide the Tretā age into four equal parts, they may be as follows :—

(1) Nos. 38-44 (Karandhama to Rājyavardhana=6 kings). It is significant that from Karandhama onwards the line is almost continuous.[3] The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* stops with Rāshṭravardhana (*i.e.*, Rājyavardhana), which may not be entirely devoid of significance. Probably this *Purāṇa* decided to give details only up to the first quarter of the Tretā age.

(2) Nos. 45-51 (Sudhṛiti to Budha[4]=6 kings). Mere names are available for this quarter. We possess no details at all. Probably this was a period of rapid decline.

(3) Nos. 52-58 (Tṛiṇabindu to Sṛiñjaya=6 kings). Tṛiṇabindu is said to have flourished in the third 'mouth' of the Tretā age. From our scheme, indicated here, it appears that he flourished at the beginning of the third quarter of it[5] (just as Karandhama also flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age). He is a remarkable figure.

(4) Nos. 59-65 (Sahadeva to Sumati[6]=5 kings). This Sahadeva, son of Sṛiñjaya, is mentioned at some other places too (see *infra*). Hence he is worthy of heading this list of kings of the fourth quarter. Sumati was the last known king of Vaiśālī. He was a contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and his son Rāma, with whom the Tretā age closes.

While some *Purāṇas* call Tṛiṇabindu a *mahīpati*[7] (king), others know him as a Rājarshi.[8] The *Rāmāyaṇa*[9], too, calls him

1. *Vā*, 85. 7.

2. Strengthened by the statement in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 4. 17) that his son flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age.

3. From Nābhānedishṭha to the accession of Karandhama Pargiter's table shows step nos. 2 to 37 But we have only eleven names for these 36 steps. Thus either the kings were long-lived or many names were omitted by Puranic chroniclers. From Karandhama onwards we possess names almost regularly.

4. Budha belonged to step no. 50. His known successor, Tṛiṇabindu, belonged to step no. 52.

5. Pargiter agrees that 'the beginning of the third quarter' of the Tretā age is meant (A. I. H T., p. 178). But contrast S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 62 who interprets it as 'the last of the three different 'commencements' of that epoch as computed by different chronologists.'

6. Sumati belonged to step no. 64. No names after him are available at all.

7. *Bḍ*, III. 8. 36. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 30.

8. *Vā*, 70. 31. *Lg*, I. 63. 58. *Kūr*, I. 19. 8.

9. *Rām*, VII. 2.

a Rājarshi and shows him as doing penance in the āśrama (known after him as Tṛiṇabindvāśrama) in the great mountainous tract of Meru (Himālayas), thus trying to justify the epithet and giving a clue to his previous history of being a rājā. The territory over which he ruled is not indicated.[1] He is probably identical with Sita, *i.e.*, White, who is represented as the father of king Viśāla of Vaiśālī in the *Purāṇas* where the glory of Gayā is sung.[2]

The name of the queen of this ruler was Alambushā (*v. l.* Alambusā, *Gar* and *Vish*).[3] She is said to be a good apsaras.[4] Pargiter[5] thinks that the queen of Tṛiṇabindu of the Vaiśāla dynasty was so named after a mythological person[6] and that she was not an apsaras in reality. The *Bhāgavata* epithet *devī*[7] seems to support this hypothesis of Pargiter. In S. C. Sarkar's opinion[8] apsarases were dancing girls (or devadāsīs) attached to monasteries for temple service or virgins assigned to the vanguard of processions in ceremonies or car-festivals, either moving in front of the chariots or attending the gods on the 'apsas' (=front part) of cars.

Tṛiṇabindu and Alambushā had four children, *viz.*, a daughter Ilavilā, and three sons, Viśāla, Śūnyabandhu and Dhūmraketu. Only the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (IX. 2. 31, 33) mentions all of them saying definitely that Alambushā gave birth to these sons and the daughter. Other *Purāṇas*[9] generally mention Ilavilā and Viśāla. Viśāla as the son of Alambushā and an unnamed

1 One Trinabindu is known to the *Skanda-Purāna* (II. 4. 28. 2). His daughter, Devahūti, had been married to Kardama. He, who appears to be a ṛishi, is different from our Vaisalian rājarshi. Also see *ibid.*, VII. 1. 138.

2. The story of Viśāla and his forefathers is given in *Nāradiya*, II. 44. 26-41; *Varāha*, 7. 13-26; *Vā*, 111. 7-15; *Gar*, 84. 37-43; *Ag*, 115. 54-59. See *infra* also.

3 *Bd*, III. 8. 37. *Bhāg*, IX. 2 31. *Rām*, I. 47. 12 (also Alambusā in some editions). *Gar*, I. 138 12. *Vish*, IV. 1. 48.

4. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 31. *Vish*, IV. 1. 48.

5. A. I. H. T., pp. 135-136.

6. Alambushā is the name of a famous apsaras (*Mbh*, I. 65. 49; 123. 61; IV. 9. 16; IX. 51. 7, 13; XIII. 19 44; 165. 15). The sameness of name no doubt suggested that Tṛiṇabindu's queen was an apsaras (A.I.H.T., p. 136).

7. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 31.

8. S. C Sarkar, *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Patna, 1928), p. 135, n. 1.

9. *Vā*, 85. 16; also 70. 31 (dtr. only). *Bḍ*, III. 61. 11-12; also III. 8. 37 (dtr. only). *Vish*, IV. 1. 47, 49. *Gar*, I. 138. 11-12.

daughter of Rājarshi Tṛiṇabindu (married to Pulastya later) are known to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] as well. Two *Purāṇas*[2] mention Tṛiṇabindu's daughter Ilavilā only and are apparently not interested in his son or sons. The *Padma-Purāṇa* (VI. 269. 15) mentions Pulastya (Ilavilā's husband) and his son Viśravas, but not Ilavilā, Viśāla and their parents. Tṛiṇabindu does not appear to be known to the *Mahābhārata*.[3]

We do not know anything about Śūnyabandhu and Dhūmraketu. About Viśāla, who founded Vaiśālī or Viśālā City after his name, we shall speak later. At present we would like to collect known facts about Tṛiṇabindu's daughter Ilavilā, who appears to be a remarkable lady for several reasons, as we shall presently see.

Many variant readings of the name of Il(ḍ)avil(ḍ)ā are available in the *Purāṇas, viz.*, Ilavilā,[4] Ailavilā,[5] Iḍaviḍā,[6] Iḍivilā[7] and Draviḍā.[8] The *Rāmāyaṇa*[9] and the *Padma-Purāṇa*[10] do not mention her by name, though the former names her father, husband and son and the latter her husband and son. One *Purāṇa*[11] calls her a Viprā (*i.e.*, a lady of the Vipra class). She was born of Alambushā[12] and was peerless in beauty[13] and well-read.[14] She lived with her father Rājarshi Tṛiṇabindu at an āśrama known as Tṛiṇabindvāśrama apparently founded by himself in the (Himālaya) mountains where the education of this princess of Vaiśālī took place.

Her marriage with Pulastya (or 'a theology teacher of

1. *Rām*, I. 47. 12 and VII. 2 respectively.
2. *Lg*, I. 63. 58 *Kūr*, I. 19. 8.
3. A king, however, bearing the name Tṛinaka is mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* (II. 8. 17) without saying anything about his territory or date. He may or may not be our Tṛinabindu. A rishi Triṇabindu is known to this work (see Sörensen for references).
4. *Vish*, IV. 1. 47. *Gar*, I. 138. 11. *Bḍ*, III. 8. 37. *Lg*, I. 63. 58.
5. *Kūr*, I. 19. 8.
6. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 31. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 11.
7. *Vā*, 70. 31.
8. *Vā*, 85. 16.
9. *Rām*, VII. 2.
10. *Pad*, VI. 269. 15.
11. *Kūr*, I. 19. 8.
12. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 31. *Bḍ*, III. 8. 37.
13. *Vā*, 70. 31. *Lg*, I. 63. 58.
14. *Rām*, VII. 2. *Cf.* S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, p. 170, n. 4.

Pulastya order' as S. C. Sarkar[1] prefers to call him) is given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2] It so happened that Brahmarshi Pulastya, son of Prajāpati, went to the Tṛiṇabindvāśrama for discourses on the sacred law and ultimately settled down there, engaged in studies. Feeling disturbed by the presence of sportive yet irreproachable maidens, he cursed them that whosoever would visit him would become pregnant. Tṛiṇabindu's daughter,[3] ignorant of this curse, visited him and became pregnant.[4] When she narrated this to her father, he took her to Pulastya and requested him to accept her as his wife. The Brahmarshi agreed and Tṛiṇabindu's daughter pleased him by her conduct and character. She was further educated by her scholar husband, whose name is generally given as Pulastya in the Puranic sources[5] also.

The marriage between the princess Ilavilā and Pulastya is highly significant, as it connects the royal line of Vaiśālī with the Paulastyas (Rākshasas) of the South. It produced results on the history of Laṅkā and also on that of Ayodhyā. This marriage between a Kshatriya princess and a Brāhmaṇa ṛishi further shows that the kings of Vaiśālī had a liberal outlook on such issues. The story of the curse of Pulastya as given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* rather takes away much from their unconservative attitude for which they had been famous since the time of Nābhāga.

The product of this union between Ilavilā and Pulastya was Viśravas.[6] He was so called because his mother used to listen to and learn the *Vedas* from her husband reading them.[7] He, too, became a learned youth abiding by or delighting in the

1. S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, p. 169. See pp. 169-173 with foot-notes for details.

2. *Rām*, VII. 2.

3. She is not named in the *Rāmāyana*.

4. "Love-making in the co-educational āśramas of those days was quite common" (*Education*, p. 173, n. 1).

5. *Vā*, 70. 31 *Lg*, I. 63. 58. Kūr. I. 19. 8. *Bhāg*, IX 2. 32 wrongly makes Viśravas (who was really her son) her husband. *Bd*, III. 61. 11; 8. 38 and *Vā*, 85. 16 do not mention Pulastya, but say that Viśravas was the son of Ilavilā (Draviḍā). *Vish*, IV. 1. 47 and *Gar*, I. 138 11 mention Ilavilā but are silent about her husband and son, the converse is true in *Pad*, VI. 269. 15 and *Rām*, VII. 2

6. According to the *Mahābhārata* (III. 274. 14; 275. 1) Pulastya created Viśravas with half of his own self. The *Mbh* does not know Ilavilā, the mother of Viśravas, and probably also her father Tṛiṇabindu. But the epithet Ailavila is known to it (see *infra*).

7. *Rām*, VII. 2. 31.

courses of Vedic study like his father. He became engaged in Vedic studies at an early age and developed a fine character.[1] This Ailavila[2] scholar was a Vipra,[3] a Dvija,[4] a Muni[5] and a Ṛishi.[6] The abode of Viśravas Muni[7] was on the Narmadā river where Kubera was born.[8]

Just as the marriage of Ilavilā, the princess of Vaiśālī, with Pulastya was significant leading to the increase of the influence of Ailavilas and Vaisalians in several directions (see *infra*), so also the marriages of her son, Viśravas, with the daughters of Bharadvāja (or a Bhāradvāja ṛishi)[9] and others served to increase the influence of the new dynasty[10] of Tṛiṇabindu. It is for some such reason that Viśravas has been called a '*Paulastyakulavardhana*' (=increaser of the family of the Paulastyas)[11] and his wives '*Paulastyakulavardhanāḥ*' ('°*vardhikāḥ*') (=increasers of the family of the Paulastyas).[12]

Viśravas had four wives[13] who became responsible for the expansion of the family of Pulastya. They were (1) Devavarninī, daughter of Bṛihaspati according to the *Purāṇas* and Bharadvāja according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, (2-3) Pushpotkaṭā and Vākā (*v. l.* Balākā, *Lg*), daughters of Mālyavat, and (4) Kaikasī[14] (*v. l.* Nikashā, *Rām*),[15] daughter of Mālin. Viśravas's son by Deva-varṇinī was Vaiśravaṇa Kubera. Pushpotkaṭā bore Khara and others. Vākā produced Triśiras, Dūshaṇa and

1. *Rām*, VII. 2-3 *Cf. Bhāg*, IX. 2. 32.
2. So called, because of his being a son of Ilavilā, in *Kūr*, I. 19. 9 (Ailavila) and *Lg*, I. 63 59 (Airavila).
3. *Pad*, VI. 269. 15. *Mbh*, III. 281. 14.
4. *Mbh*, III. 274. 14. *Rām*, VII. 9 15
5. *Rām*, VII. 2-3, 9 *Mbh*, III. 89 5; 275. 1; 281. 14.
6. *Vā*, 70. 32. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 32. *Kūr*, I. 19. 9. *Lg*, I. 63. 59 *Mbh*, III 281. 14; XIII. 165. 12.
7. Besides his Himalayan āśrama (*cf. Rām*, VII. 2) and Vaiśālī.
8. *Mbh*, III. 89 5. *Cf Bhāg*, IX. 2. 32.
9. The contemporary Bhāradvājas (step 54 of Pargiter's list, A. I. H.T., p. 191) were an influential priestly group. Was Bṛihaspati the personal name of one such Bhāradvāja ?
10. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 58.
11. *Bd*, III. 8. 38.
12. *Vā*, 70. 32. *Lg*, I. 63. 59. *Kūr*, I. 19. 9 ('°*vardhikāḥ*').
13. *Vā*, 70. 32. *Lg*, I. 63. 59. *Kūr*, I. 19. 9.
14. The story of her marriage is given in some detail in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII.9).
15. For some references to Nikashā see *Rāma-Kathā*, pp. 378-379.

others. The children of Kaikasī were Daśagrīva ('Rāvaṇa'),[1] Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīshaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā, the last being a daughter.

Thus the dynasty of the Paulastyas (Rākshasas)[2] of the South (South India and Ceylon) was derived from the royal line of Vaiśālī.

The eldest son of Viśravas Paulastya Ailavila and Devavarṇinī was Vaiśravaṇa Kubera Ailavila.[3] He became known as 'Dhana-pati' or the Lord of Riches 'by virtue of his own efforts' (that is, in the direction of trade and commerce apparently). Under instructions of his father Viśravas, he took possession of the abandoned city of Laṅkā, built in ancient times by the architect Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas. Vaiśravaṇa settled in the abandoned Laṅkā and made it an appanage of Vaiśālī. He maintained contact with his parents in Vaiśālī with the help of his 'pushpaka-vimāna' (=a large ship). When his step-brother Daśagrīva prepared to take Laṅkā by force, he gave it up and retired to Vaiśālī and the North. Not being satisfied with this, Daśagrīva attacked and defeated Kubera and captured his 'pushpaka' fleet, which he used for his own purposes now, until it was restored to 'Vaiśravaṇa' (*Rām*, VI. 127. 60; VII. 41), that is, to Vaiśravaṇa's dynasty in Vaiśālī, by Rāma Dāśarathi who had conquered 'Rāvaṇa'.[4]

S. C. Sarkar suggests[5] that the human and Puranic Vaiśravaṇa should not be confused with the god Kubera, called Vaiśravaṇa; probably the god Kubera was optatively so designated in ancient times as having been specially worshipped by or dear to the Vaiśravaṇas (descendants of Viśravas being Mānvas

1. See a useful article by G. Ramdas in I. H. Q., Vol. 5, 1929, pp. 281-299 on 'Rāvana and His Tribes'. He has collected evidences from the *Rāmāyana* to prove that Rāvana had one head and two arms like any human being and that the notion that he had ten heads and twenty arms must have been the result of certain interpolators, who misconceived the significance of such appellations as '*Daśagrīva*'

2. For a comprehensive account of the Paulastyas in the *Purāṇas* see *Bd*, III. 8 34-70; *Vā*, 70. 29-63; *Lg*, I 63 55-66, *Kūr*, I. 19. 7-15; *Pad*, VI. 269. 15-26 and *Bhāg*, IX. 2 31-32 (partially). *Cf. Mbh*, III. 274. 11 to 276. 3 (differently); *Rām*, VII. 2 to 5 and 9; III. 22. Also see A. I. H. T., pp. 241-242; S. C. Sarkar, *Education* pp. 169-173 and *Homage*, pp. 59-62.

3. Vaiśravaṇa Kubera is called 'Ailavila' (*Mbh*, V. 102. 10; 111. 20; 139. 14; IX. 47. 25).

4. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, pp. 59-60.

5. S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, p. 172, n. 1.

of Vaiśālī who became 'dhana-patis', *i.e.*, merchant-princes, 'lords of riches', millionaires by trade); the Vaiśravaṇas were of course nobles belonging to the Vaiśālī royal family, and Vaiśālī must have from the earliest days been one of the greatest trade centres of India; *cf.* the wealth of the Lichchhavi aristocrats (plutocrats) of Vaiśālī in a subsequent age.

In S. C. Sarkar's opinion[1] the 'pushpaka' of the 'dhanapati' son of Viśravas (daughter's son of king Tṛiṇabindu) seems to refer to a particular type of merchantship used by Vaiśālī merchant-princes for river and sea-borne trade. Sarkar tries to explain the name by saying that the two ends of a sailing ship with the spreading sails in the middle would in a diagrammatic representation look like an opening 'pushpa'. If the 'pushpaka' could go up to Viśravas's āśrama, this must have been situated at the foot of the mountains where the Gaṇḍakī broadens out into the plains.[2]

Another suggestion of S. C. Sarkar[3] concerning the maritime activities of the ancient Vaisalians is that probably the term 'Siṁhikā' with its variant 'Hiṁsikā'[4] came to be used of 'pirate ships' in ancient India. One such 'Siṁhikā', evidently of the Vaisalian fleet captured and utilised by the Iṛaivaṇ, is said in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 1. 173-190) to have intercepted 'Hanumant' on the high seas, while he was crossing over to Laṅkā (probably on board a 'Vānara' ship).

The influence of Ilavilā is indicated by the fact that the epithet Ailavila is used for several persons connected with the Vaiśālikas, Kauberakas (Yakshas) and the Kosalas (Ikshvākus). Viśravas, the son of Ilavilā, was naturally called an Ailavila.[5] Vaiśravaṇa Kubera (son of Viśravas Ailavila) is also called an Ailavila.[6] Not only that. Two kings[7] of Kosala, *viz.*, Vṛiddhaśarman (step no. 58 in Pargiter's list, the royal name is

1. S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, p. 172, n. 1.
2. *Ibid.*
3. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 63.
4. Or 'Hımsrıkā' (A. Ś., II. 28).
5. *Kūr*, I. 19. 9. *Lg*, I. 63. 59.
6. *Mbh*, V. 102. 10; 111. 20; 139. 14; IX. 47. 25.
7. *Bḍ*, III. 63 .180-183. *Vā*, 87. 179-181. *Lg*, I.66. 30-33. *Kūr*, I. 21. 15. *Vish*, IV. 4. 75-82 *Gar*, I. 138. 36-37. *Bhāg*, IX. 9. 42-50. Dilīpa II is called an Ailavila in *Mbh*, VII. 61. 1. Ailavila in *Mbh*, XII. 166. 76 may mean Dilīpa II (as Pargiter thinks, A.I H.T., p. 42) or some other ancient king (Sörensen, p. 25): this king received the sword of justice from Bharata and gave it to Dhundhumāra.

Brahmanic) and his grandson Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga (step no.60 in Pargiter's list) are given this epithet in the dynastic lists and the latter in the *Mahābhārata* as well. Thus, Sarkar thinks, Vṛiddha-śarman might have been a brother of Viśravas Ailavila.

The reign of Tṛiṇabindu and the careers of his daughter and her relations make this epoch of Vaisalian history very important. The mention of Tṛiṇabindu in the *Rāmāyaṇa* outside the Vaisalian genealogical list shows that he was an important ruler. The prevalence of the epithet Ailavila and the derivation of the Paulastya family from Ilavilā make her career significant. The influence of Vaiśālī increased as a result of these marriages. The abandoned Laṅkā was colonised. The Vaisalian fleet (called the 'pushpaka-vimāna' in the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative) began to ply from the Gaṇḍakī and the Ganges to far-off Ceylon. The fleet must have included 'pirate ships' ('Siṁhikās' or 'Hiṁsikās') as well. These developments must have led to the growth of trade and commerce. The old capital might have now become inadequate to accommodate all. So need was felt for a new or second capital. This task was accomplished by Tṛiṇabindu's son and successor, Viśāla.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW VAIŚĀLĪ

(*Viśāla*)

25. VIŚĀLA

Viśāla was the son and successor of Tṛiṇabindu,[1] his mother being Alambushā.[2] According to Pargiter[3] the first successor of Tṛiṇabindu was Viśravas (his daughter's son) and his second successor was Viśāla. S. C. Sarkar[4] wants to take Viśravas and Viśāla as identical. It appears, however, safer to accept the verdict of the *Purāṇas* in regarding Viśāla as the son and successor of Tṛinabindu.

Viśāla was the founder of Vaiśālī[5] or Viśālā[6] as the capital of the kingdom which has been hitherto called the kingdom of Vaiśālī in anticipation. It has been a universal practice to name countries, towns, mountains and rivers, especially in newly developed regions, after discoverers, conquerors, founders and celebrated men, and the same method must have been adopted by the Aryans who conquered North India and founded new kingdoms and towns there.[7] Thus countries are said sometimes to have been named after kings, such as Gandhāra,[8] Ānarta,[9] and Sauvīra.[10] Similarly towns, such as Śrāvastī,[11] Hastināpura[12] and Vaiśālī[13]

1. *Vā*, 85. 16. *Vish*, IV. 1. 49. *Gar*, I. 138. 12. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 33. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 12.
2. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 31. *Gar*, I 138. 12. *Vish*, IV. 1. 48. *Bḍ*, III. 8. 37 (by implication). *Rām*, I. 47. 12.
3. A. I. H. T., pp. 147, 273.
4. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 59.
5. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 33.
6. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 12. *Vish*, IV. 1. 49. *Vā*, 85. 17. *Rām*, I. 47. 12.
7. Pargiter, A. I. H. T., p. 137.
8. *Vā*, 98. 9. *Hv*, 32. 126. *Mat*, 48. 6-7. *Bḍ*, III. 74. 9. *Br*, 13. 150-151.
9. *Mat*, 12. 21-22. *Vā*, 85. 24. *Hv*, 10. 29-31. Also other references.
10. *Vā*, 98. 23-24. *Mat*, 48. 19-20. *Hv*, 31. 29-30.
11. *Vā*, 87. 27. *Mat*, 12. 30. *Hv*, 11. 22. Also other references.
12. *Mbh*, I. 95. 34. *Mat*, 49. 42. *Vā*, 98. 161. *Vish*, IV. 19. 28. *Bhāg*, IX. 21. 20. *Bhavishya*, III. 1. 3. 46.
13. See *supra*.

were named from the kings who founded them [1] We need not, however, take the term 'founded' too literally. It may even mean 're-built' or 'enlarged'. A typical case is furnished by Hastināpura. Some passages make this the capital of Dushyanta[2] and Bharata[3]; but the latter's fifth successor Hastin is distinctly stated to have founded that city.[4] If those passages are right, Hastin may have enlarged it and given it his name.[5] Some such thing appears to have taken place with regard to Vaiśālī as well inasmuch as long before Viśāla we hear of many important kings of the Vaiśālī region who must have had some capital. Moreover, one Takshaka Vaiśāleya is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda* (VIII. 10. 29) and the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV. 15. 3) and a place called Viśālagrāma flourishing at a remote period is referred to in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (76. 25, 37). Thus the truth seems that Viśāla (step no. 54) enlarged the capital city and gave it his name as Hastin (step no. 51) had done with regard to Hastināpura a few years before.

Although Vaiśālī's contributions to Jainism and Buddhism are well-known, none has so far referred to the contributions of the very founder or re-builder of the city (King Viśāla), after whose name it was called Vaiśālī, to the cause of Hinduism.[6] The *piṇḍadāna* of king Viśāla of Vaiśālī is specifically mentioned in no less than five *Purāṇas*.[7] This Viśāla appears to be identical with the founder of our Vaiśālī, because the offerer of *piṇḍa* at Gayā

(a) flourished in the Tretā age;[8]
(b) was a king;
(c) was named Viśāla;
(d) lived at Viśālā Purī, *i.e.*, had his capital at Viśālā Purī;

1. Pargiter, A. I. H. T., p. 137.
2. *Mbh*, I. 74. 13 (Gajasāhvaya).
3. *Mbh*, I. 94. 46 ('the excellent city').
4. See *supra*.
5. Pargiter, A. I. H. T., p. 273.
6. This was first pointed out by T. P. Bhattacharyya in his review of *Homage to Vaiśālī* in *The Searchlight* of the 12th June, 1949.
7. *Nāradiya*, II. 44. 26-41. *Varāha*, 7. 13-26. *Vā*, 111. 7-15. *Gar*, 84. 37-43. *Ag*, 115. 54-59. As is apparent from above, the first two sources give more details.
8. *Nāradiya*, II. 44. 26.

(e) was the lord of Viśālā; and
(f) was connected with a territory (*i.e.*, Vaiśālī) not far away from the Gayā City.

The only possible objection which may be raised against this identification is that here the father of king Viśāla is said to be Sita (*i.e.*, White), and not Tṛiṇabindu. The context leaves no doubt that this was an epithet and not a proper name; because his (Sita's) father and grandfather are called Rakta (*i.e.*, Red) and Kṛishṇa (*i.e.*, Black) respectively. And about them it is also stated that they were killers of Brāhmaṇas and Ṛishis respectively. Thus, in reality, these colours indicate the extent of their sinfulness; *e.g.*, Tṛiṇabindu is Sita or white and was, therefore, not sinful; Tṛiṇabindu's father (or Sita's father) was Rakta or red due to the blood-shed of the Brāhmaṇas; and Sita's grandfather was Kṛishṇa or black indicating the black character of the man who had killed so many Ṛishis. If these are not regarded as epithets, they may be taken as alternative names.

The story given in the *Purāṇas* says that king Viśāla of Viśālā, being childless, had offered *piṇḍa* at Gayā and consequently his father (Sita), grandfather (Rakta) and great-grandfather (Kṛishṇa) attained heaven, he was blessed with a number of children and he, too, went to heaven after this life. This gives us an important sidelight on the life of Viśāla. This connection between Viśālā (Vaiśālī) and Gayā was long remembered, probably because the connection did not cease with Viśāla, but continued even after him. It was perhaps to commemorate this event that in the Gupta period (4th and 5th centuries A.D.) seals[1] were issued at Vaiśālī in which we get perhaps the earliest representations of the Gayā Vishṇupada Temple, as it was in that period. Thus the earliest known founder of Vaiśālī was a follower of ancestor-worship (*piṇḍadāna* cult) and in the fourth century A.D. the same cult revived there perhaps with the revival of monarchy[2] too. In the opinion of T. P. Bhattacharyya[3] the doctrine of numbers was related to the *śrāddha* and *piṇḍadāna* cult of which not only (ancient) Bodhagayā and Vaiśālī, but also whole

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for* 1903-1904 (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 104, 110-111.
2. Had monarchy anything to do with *piṇḍadāna* cult ?
3. *Op. cit.*

Western India was a great centre in the pre-Buddhistic period. He further says that Jainism and Buddhism arose out of it.

The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[1] regards king Viśāla as 'very religious.' This epithet may have something to do with his ancestor-worship.[2]

The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[3] calls Viśāla (step no. 54) brave. This title may either be customary or he might have control over Magadha as well (which included Gayā) at this time. This is not improbable, because the era of Vasu Chaidya Uparichara (step no. 78) and Bṛihadratha (step no. 79) had not yet begun.

References to Viśāla and Viśālā are found in Puranic literature; but as these names were famous in ancient times, it appears, they were adopted by others as well. Kings Viśāla of the Vaidiśa City[4] and Viśāla of Kāśipurī[5] have already been referred to. A Brāhmaṇa named Viśāla[6] and his son Vaiśāli[7] are mentioned by the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*. While these references may clearly be dismissed as having no connection with our Viśāla, the same cannot be said with regard to Viśālā, though this was also the name of Ujjayinī and Badarī. Viśālagrāma[8] is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*. One Viśālā[9] is referred to in the *Padma-Purāṇa*. A Viśālā[10] was visited by the Ṛishis. It was to a Viśālā[11] that king Nābhi, father of Ṛishabha, retired in old age for penances. We are unable to say anything definitely about the last two, but the first two may refer to our Vaiśālī.[12]

1. *Bḍ*, III 61. 12.

2. The *Varāha-Purāṇa* (48. 6-24) mentions one king Viśāla (48 6) of Kāśipurī who had been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives In this story the incarnations of Vishnu including the Buddha and Kalkin have been mentioned. Thus this was some other Viśāla Was there any blood relationship between the houses of Vaiśālī and Kāśi?

3. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 12

4. *Mārk*, 122. 20 ff.

5. *Varāha*, 48. 6-24.

6. *Mārk*, 70. 4

7. *Mārk*, 70. 3.

8. *Mārk*, 76. 25, 37. A Brāhmana, Bodha, is mentioned here. *Cf.* S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśalī*, p. 46 and n. 1.

9. *Pad*, VI. 189. 27 (Vol IV, p. 1594).

10. *Vāmana*, 37. 30.

11. *Bhāg*, V. 4. 5. Also see *Purāna Index*, Vol. 3, pp. 264-265.

12. Viśālā is the name of the daughter of Varuna also (*Pad*, II. 77. 79). For the conversation between Viśālā and Yayāti, see *Pad*, II. 77. 6-103 (Vol. I, pp 280-284).

It may be added that our Vaiśālī contained a Great Forest ('Mahāvana') which continued up to the time of Gautama Buddha.

Of all the kings of the Vaiśālī region, Viśāla seems to have made a deep impression on the posterity probably because of his foundation (or rebuilding) of Vaiśālī City, promotion of ancestor-worship (*piṇḍadāna* cult) and personal bravery. People could not forget him. Even today there is a big mound at Basarh (Muzaffarpur district) which bears the name of *Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh* ('the Fort of King Viśāla').[1]

1. For a description of this mound, see Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. I (Simla, 1871), pp. 55-56; Vol. XVI (Calcutta, 1883), pp. 6, 12, 89-91; *Ancient Geography of India* (second edition, ed. Surendranath Majumdar Sastri) (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 507-508; Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of* 1904 *in the Province of Bihar and Orissa* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 20-26; *Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer* (Calcutta, 1907), pp. 139-141. For the earliest modern notice see J. A. S. B., 1835, p. 128 (by J. Stephenson).

CHAPTER VII

THE SUCCESSORS OF VIŚĀLA AND THE FALL OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Hemachandra to Sumati*)

26. HEMACHANDRA

Viśāla's son is known as Hemachandra in all sources.[1] He is said to be 'very strong.'[2]

If the *piṇḍa-dāna* story of Viśāla[3] is believed, it may be presumed that Hemachandra was born to him after he had offered *piṇḍa* at Gayā.

27. SUCHANDRA

He is variously called Suchandra,[4] Chandra[5] and Chandraka.[6] He was the son of Hemachandra.

28. DHŪMRĀŚVA

He is known as Dhūmrāśva[7] or Dhūmrāksha.[8]

29. SṚIÑJAYA

He is called Sṛiñjaya by most of our sources.[9] Only one source[10] calls him Saṃyama. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu*[11] call him a 'scholar'.

1. *Vā*, 85. 17. *Vish*, IV. 1. 50. *Gar*, I. 138. 12. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 34. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 13. *Rām*, I. 47. 13.
2. *Bd*, III. 61. 13. *Rām*, I. 47 13.
3. *Nāradīya*, II. 44. 26-41. *Varāha*, 7. 13-26. *Vā*, 111. 7-15. *Gar*, 84. 37-43. *Ag*, 115. 54-59.
4. *Vā*, 85. 18. *Bd*, III. 61 13. *Rām*, I. 47. 13.
5. *Vish*, IV. 1. 51 *Gar*, I 138. 13.
6. *Gar*, I. 138 12. *Bhāg* does not mention him.
7. *Vā*, 85. 18. *Gar*, I. 138. 13 *Bd*, III. 61. 14. *Rām*, I. 47. 14.
8. *Vish*, IV. 1. 52. *Bhāg*, IX 2. 34.
9. *Vā*, 85. 19. *Vish*, IV. 1. 53. *Gar*, I. 138. 13. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 14. *Rām*, I. 47. 14.
10. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 34.
11. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 14. *Vā*, 85. 19.

Sṛiñjaya is mentioned as an ancient king in various enumerations in the *Mahābhārata*.[1] As the territory over which he ruled is not indicated, we are unable to say if Sṛiñjaya of Vaiśālī is meant.

30. SAHADEVA

Sahadeva[2] was the son of Sṛiñjaya. He has been called 'wealthy' and 'strong'.[3]

A king named Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (II. 4. 4. 3-4). In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34. 9) Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned with Somaka Sāhadevya. The *Mahābhārata* (III. 90. 5, 7) speaks of a Sahadeva (son of Sṛiñjaya, commentary on *śl.* 5) as sacrificing at Agniśiras and on the Yamunā. Though there is no definite evidence to prove that this Sahadeva, son of Sṛiñjaya, was the same as the king of Vaiśālī, yet we feel tempted to suggest that the probability cannot be precluded entirely inspite of the fact that Sahadeva of the *Mahābhārata* sacrifices on the Yamunā and not on the Gandak.[4] Sahadeva is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 8. 17) again, but here his territory is not indicated.[5]

According to our scheme,[6] the fourth quarter of the Tretā age began in the time of this Sahadeva, son of Sṛiñjaya.

31. KṚIŚĀŚVA

He is generally called Kṛiśāśva[7] and only rarely Kuśāśva.[8] The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* know him as 'very religious'.[9]

1. *Mbh*, I. 1. 225 (in Nārada's enumeration); II. 8. 15 (in the palace of Yama), XIII. 115. 72 (among the kings who abstained from meat during the month of Kārtika).
2. *Vā*, 85. 19. *Vish*, IV. 1. 54. *Gar*, I. 138. 13. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 34. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 15. *Rām*, I. 47. 15.
3. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 15. *Rām*, I. 47. 15.
4. *Cf.* H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, sixth edition (Calcutta, 1953), p. 121.
5. "It may be pointed out that Sahadeva, king of the North Pañchālas (step 69), was the great-grandson of Sṛiñjaya (step 66), and not his son (see A. I. H. T., pp. 116, 148).
6. See *ante* under Tṛiṇabindu.
7. *Vā*, 85. 20. *Vish*, IV. 1. 55. *Gar*, I. 138, 13. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 34. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 15.
8. *Rām*, I. 47. 15.
9. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 15. *Rām*, I. 47. 15.

One Kṛiśāśva is mentioned as an ancient king in the *Mahābhārata*,[1] but his territory is not indicated.

32. SOMADATTA

Kṛiśāśva was succeeded by his son Somadatta.[2]

No less than two sources[3] recognise him as a performer of horse-sacrifices. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu* call him a Rājarshi.[4] These[5] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] know him to be very valorous and chivalrous.[7]

33. JANAMEJAYA

Somadatta was succeeded by his son Janamejaya.[8] The *Rāmāyaṇa* knows this king by a different name, Kākutstha.[9] The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[10] reverses the order and after Somadatta has Sumati (Saumadattti) and then Janamejaya. This may be regarded as a mistake, because it is not corroborated by any other source.

One ancient king, named Janamejaya, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[11] but his territory is not indicated. The possibility, that this might have been the name of more than one king, cannot be ruled out.

34. SUMATI

He is variously called Sumati,[12] Sumanti[13] and Pramati.[14]

1. *Mbh*, II. 8. 17 (in the palace of Yama); XIII 165 49 (enumeration).
2. *Vā*, 85 20. *Vish*, IV. 1 56 *Gar*, I 138. 14. *Bhāg*, IX. 2 35 *Bḍ*, III. 61. 16. *Rām*, I. 47. 16.
3. *Vish*, IV. 1. 56. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 35.
4. *Bd*, III. 61. 16 *Vā*, 85. 21.
5. *Bd*, III. 61. 16. *Vā*, 85. 20.
6. *Rām*, I. 47. 16.
7. It may incidentally be remarked that the *Brahmānda* and the *Vāyu Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyana* use the very same adjectives in their texts in respect of Hemachandra, Sahadeva, Kriśāśva and Somadatta (*mahābalaḥ, pratāpavān, parama-dhārmikah* and *mahātejāh-pratāpavān* respectively).
8. *Vā*, 85. 21 *Vish*, IV. 1 57. *Gar*, I. 138. 14. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 16.
9. *Rām*, I. 47. 16.
10. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 36.
11. *Mbh*, I. 1. 228 (in Sañjaya's enumeration of deceased kings); II. 8. 20 (in the palace of Yama); XII. 234. 24 (attained heaven by giving his body for the sake of a Brāhmana); XIII. 137. 9 (attained heaven by giving a chariot and cows to a Brāhmana).
12. *Vish*, IV. 1. 58. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 36. *Rām*, I. 47. 17.
13. *Gar*, I. 138. 14.
14. *Vā*, 85. 21 (*v. l.* Pramati and Pramiti). *Bḍ*, III. 61. 17.

Generally speaking, he is regarded as the last ruler of the dynasty. Only the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* differs and says that after Somadatta came Sumati Saumadatti who was succeeded by Janamejaya, the last ruler of the dynasty in the opinion of this *Purāṇa*.

Thanks to the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have an independent reference to this king Sumati who is merely mentioned by the *Purāṇas*.

Vaiśālī had ceased to be an important kingdom at this time, because its king (Sumati's predecessor or Sumati) is not mentioned in the list of kings who were invited by king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā to attend his sacrifice.[1] There is no doubt that the territory occupied by this kingdom was much less extensive at this time. But it may be argued that this list indicates with what kingdoms in Daśaratha's time Kosala's relations were friendliest. If it is so, it looks rather strange that the very neighbour of Kosala should not have been mentioned by name, especially when the kings of Ayodhyā, Vaiśālī and Videha belonged to the same stock. It is probable that he may have been one of the 'other kings' (*Rām*, I. 13. 28) not mentioned specifically in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

This sacrifice of Daśaratha took place (1+1+15=) seventeen years before Rāma's visit to Sumati, king of Vaiśālī.[2]

We are unable to say as to who was the king of Vaiśālī when the sacrifice of Daśaratha took place—whether he was Sumati or his predecessor Janamejaya. But in respect of the visit of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmana to Vaiśālī we know it definitely that the king of the small territory at that time was Sumati.[3] The *Rāmāyana* gives details of the trip of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmana from Ayodhyā to Mithilā.[4] As we have not taken

1. *Rām*, I 13. 20-29. *Cf.* Pargiter, A. I H. T.. p. 276 and J. A. S B., 1897, pp 96, 97. This list mentions 'the kings of Mithilā, Kāśī, Kekaya, Anga, (South ?) Kosala, Magadha, the East (*Prāchīnān*), Sindhu, Sauvīra, Surāshtra (*Saurāshṭreyān*), and the South (*Dākshinātyān*) and other kings on the surface of the earth'

2. By combining *Rām*, I. 14. 1, 18. 8 and 20. 2.

3. *Rām*, I. 47 17, 20; 48. 1, 9.

4. There are four stages of this trip :—(1) from Ayodhyā to the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges: north of the Ganges : in the kingdom of Kosala (*Rām*, I. 5. 5) —*Rām*, I. 22. 4 to 24. 11; (2) from the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges to the Malada-Karūśa and Magadha kingdoms and back to the Ganges : south of the Ganges—I. 24. 12 to 45 8, (3) in the kingdom of Vaiśālī : north of the Ganges—I 45. 9 to 48. 9; (4) in the kingdom of Videha . further north of the Ganges (including the marriage ceremony and the Paraśu-Rāma episode) —I. 48. 10 to 77. 6. For a brief description of the trip see S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, pp. 118-123.

up the history of Eastern U. P. and Bihar for our study here, we need not discuss the geography of the whole trip. We shall only review the movement of the party in the Vaiśālī kingdom.[1]

As much later in the time of the Vajjian Republic, so in the time of Sumati, the Ganges formed the southern boundary of the state of Vaiśālī. The party consisting of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, which had earlier decided to visit the capital of the Maithila King Janaka on the north of the Ganges amidst the Himalayan ranges and see his great festival there (31. 6-7, 11, 15), crossed the Ganges (45. 8), somewhere between the confluence with the Śoṇa and Vaiśālī on the Gaṇḍakī, on board a boat, with decks comfortably carpeted and canopied (*sukhāstīrṇā*, 45. 7). This boat, or rather ship, belonged to other ṛishis, *i.e.*, to another local Vedic school (45. 7) either at the confluence, subsequently the site of Pāṭaliputra, or at Vaiśālī, and was placed at the disposal of the excursionists.[2] When they reached the northern shore, they sat on the bank of the Ganges (to take rest) and saw Viśālā Purī (45. 9). As Vaiśālī is not situated on the Ganges, but on the Gaṇḍakī, and is removed from the Ganges by 20 miles,[3] this Ramayanic statement can only mean that the distant towers or the pinnacles of the temples met their gaze as they cast their glance northwards.[4] Local tradition believes that Rāma crossed over from the southern side of the river Ganges to the northern side at Hajipur.[5] There is still a *ghāṭ*, known as Rāmchaurā Ghāṭ,[6] which claims this distinction and is regarded as sacred on this account. This event

1. The references given hereafter belong to the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2. S. C. Sarkar, *Education*, p. 120.

3. This being the distance between Basarh and Hajipur (*Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer*, p. 138).

4. Is it possible that the party did not land on the northern bank of the Ganges, but continued the journey on the boat in the Gaṇḍakī river and landed just south of, and quite near, Vaiśālī—a fact which has been omitted by the Ramayanic tradition? In that case, too, they might see the town of Vaiśālī. But see *infra*.

5. S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p. 33.

6. *Cf.* terms like Kabīrchaurā (a sacred spot at Vārāṇasī associated with the famous saint Kabīr) and Tulsīchaurā (the sacred place containing the *tulsi* plant).

of Rāma's visit to Rāmchaurā Ghāṭ is referred to in Holī songs as well[1] sung in that part of the Muzaffarpur district.

The party then went to Vaiśālī, which was an excellent town (*uttamāpurī*, 45. 11), "charming and heavenly, in fact, a veritable paradise" (45. 10). Sumati, the king, received them splendidly and they were guests for a night there (47. 19, 48. 9); thence they proceeded to Mithilā City, halting on the way at the ancient suburban āśrama of the Gautamas.

S. C. Sarkar thinks that the 'pushpaka' fleet, which 'Rāvaṇa' of Laṅkā had captured from Kubera, was restored to Vaiśravaṇa (*Rām*, VI. 127. 60-62; VII. 41. 2-16, 42. 1), that is, to Vaiśravaṇa's dynasty in Vaiśālī, by Rāma Dāśarathi who had conquered 'Rāvaṇa', and that Pramati (*i.e.*, Sumati) of Vaiśālī, whom Rāma met in early youth, must have lived long enough to rejoice at this restoration of the lost fleet.[2]

The *Purāṇas*[3] after giving the list of the kings of Vaiśālī up to Sumati say that these were the Vaiśālaka kings. This indicates that Sumati in their opinion was the last king of Vaiśālī. What became of Vaiśālī after him is not indicated at all.

1. *E g.*, "*Ho Rāmchaurā Ghāṭ Rāmchaurā Ghāṭ* (*jahān*) *Rām nahailana Gaṅgā*", *i.e.*, "(This is) Rāmchaurā Ghāṭ (where) Rāma bathed in the Ganges". These songs contain much of the valuable tradition handed down from generation to generation, but have not yet been collected together to the regret of us all.

2. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 60.

3. *Vā*, 85. 22. *Bḍ*, III. 61. 17. *Vish*, IV. 1. 59, 61. *Bhāg*, IX. 2. 36. *Gar*, I. 138. 14.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE UNDER VAISALIAN MONARCHY

While other *Purāṇas*[1] only mention the kings of the Vaiśālaka dynasty, it is only the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[2] which gives details of the individual rulers of the Vaiśālī region, though only up to a certain stage (*i.e.*, up to the first quarter of the Tretā age according to our view). The *Rāmāyaṇa*, besides giving the genealogy up to Sumati, speaks in some detail of three kings, *viz.*, Marutta, Tṛinabindu and Sumati,[3] who belonged to the first, third and fourth quarters of the Tretā age respectively. The *Mahābhārata*,[4] while giving the genealogy up to Marutta, describes in detail the story of Marutta and his sacrifice. Stray references to the kings and priests of Vaiśālī are found in other ancient works as well. Thus, with the help of these, we can present a picture of the life under Vaisalian monarchy. In so doing, however, we have to be very cautious, because the sources to be utilised by us were written much later than the actual events had taken place. And there is always the possibility of the writers' projecting their own times and views into the ancient times. We shall try our best to avoid this kind of pitfalls. Moreover, there are many things which are well-known and may be applicable to any monarchy. We shall not elaborate such things.

ADMINISTRATION

Vaiśālī was a monarchical state ruled by a dynasty of princes originally descended from Manu Vaivasvata. It was a Kshatriya dynasty. The prevalent notion about royalty as can be gathered from the *Mārkaṇḍeya* was that only the Kshatriya could rule and not a Vaiśya.[5] It was for this reason that Nābhāga, son of Nābhānedishṭha and grandson of

1. *Vish*, IV. 1. 19-61 *Gar*, I. 138. 6-14. *Vā*, 85 3-22 and 70. 30-32. *Bhāg*, IX 2. 23-36. *Bd*, III. 61 3-18 and 8. 35-37. *Lg*, I. 66 53 and 63. 56-59. *Kūr*, I. 19. 8-9
2. *Mark*, 113 to 136 and 109 to 110.
3. *Rām*, VII. 18, VII. 2 and I. 47 respectively.
4. *Mbh*, XIV. 3-10 (Samvarta-Maruttīya section).
5. *Mārk*, 114. 14.

Manu Vaivasvata, who had become a Vaiśya due to his having married a Vaiśya girl, had to lose his throne. Not only that, when Nābhāga's son, Bhalandana, approached his paternal uncle's sons, Vasurāta and the other sons, and demanded half of the kingdom, they said that he was the son of a Vaiśya and hence not entitled to enjoy the earth. He, however, defeated his cousins and got back the throne. But the kings of this dynasty, it appears, continued to be called Vaiśyas, because we find Bhalandana and Vatsa (-prī) mentioned as Vaiśya hymn-makers.[1] We cannot be very sure about the rigidity of caste system at such a remote period and possibly the Puranic chronicler was giving the state of affairs in his own time. However, the position seems to have improved later as Marutta and his successors are known as Kshatriyas.[2] It does not appear to be proper to interpret 'Āyogava', the epithet given to Marutta, son of Avikshita, in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*,[3] in a sense in which it is used in the *Manu-Smṛiti* (X. 12).[4]

Kingship was hereditary.[5] Generally the king used to anoint his son before he proceeded for the vānaprastha stage.[6]

Some of the kings had many queens.[7] We do not know the constitutional distinction among those queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession with an elaborate ritual. A more important ritual was the Aindra Mahābhisheka[8] with which king Marutta is said to have been consecrated. This consisted of five important ceremonies. In the first place, an oath is administered by the priest to the king-designate.[9] Next follows the *Ārohaṇa* or enthronement. When

1. *Bd*, II. 32. 121-122 *Mat*, 145. 116-117.

2. See *supra*.

3. *Śat Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 6.

4. H. C Raychaudhuri does so (P. H. A. I., p. 160). See *supra* for a brief discussion

5. See esp. *Mārk*, 117. 29-31 (Viśva-vedin's statement).

6. There are several instances.

7. For details see *infra*.

8. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 12-23. The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhisheka:—Janamejaya Pārikshita, Śāryāta Mānava, Śatānika Sātrājita, Āmbāshṭhya, Yudhāṁśraushṭi Augrasainya, Viśva-karman Bhauvana, Sudās Paijavana, Marutta Āvikshita, Anga Vairochana and Bharata Dauhshyanti (*Ait. Br.*, VIII. 21-23).

9. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 15.

the king is seated on the throne, we have the *Utkrośana*[1] or proclamation. The king-makers proclaim him saying: "Him do ye proclaim, O men (*janāḥ*) as king and father of kings.... The sovereign lord of all beings (*Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati*)[2] hath been born, the eater of the folk (*Viśāmattā*)[2] hath been born, the destroyer of enemies (*Amitrāṇāṁ hantā*)[2] hath been born, the protector of the Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇānāṁ goptā*)[2] hath been born, the guardian of the law (*Dharmasya goptā*)[2] hath been born." When the king has been proclaimed, there is an address with the formula, *abhimantraṇa*.[3] Then comes the anointment (*abhishechana*).[4]

Closely connected with the Aindra Mahābhisheka was another important ceremonial called the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice.[5] Marutta is definitely stated to have performed this sacrifice.[6]

Sacrifices of several kinds were performed by the kings of the Vaiśālī region. Legendary stories of these are given by the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.

This brings us to the question of the functions of the king which are emphasised especially in the stories of Avikshita and Marutta.[7] These include, amongst others, the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the subjects, especially the well-behaved and the Brāhmaṇas. The kings were followers of the paternal principle of government[8] and regarded the subjects as their children.[9]

Coming to the private life of the king, we find that hunting was a favourite royal pastime.[10] Many gifts were made and in that glad and opulent city sportive courtesans of the prettiest forms danced an exquisite dance to the accompaniment of songs and musical instruments[11] in case of the king's rejoicing.

1. *Ibid.*, VIII. 17.
2. The significance of these important attributes of kingship has been admirably brought out by H. C. Raychaudhuri (P. H. A. I., p. 169).
3. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 18.
4. See P. H. A. I, pp. 168-169.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
6. *Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4 6.
7. *Mārk*, chs. 129 and 131.
8. *Mārk*, chs. 116 (Vatsapri), 117 (Khanitra, Prāṁśu) and 129 (Marutta).
9. *Cf.* the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya and the inscriptions of Aśoka for a similar idea.
10. *Mārk*, chs. 120 (Khanīnetra) and 126 (Avikshita).
11. *Mārk*, ch. 128.

The prince was given proper education and training.[1] He had to marry first in his own caste.[2]

The king was not an absolute despot in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmanas.[3] The second check was supplied by the ministers individually or in council, and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted on important occasions.[4] The existence of a Royal Council (Sabhā) is clearly suggested by references to Sabhāsads in Vedic texts, particularly in connection with king Marutta Āvikshita.[5] Another check[6] was supplied by the general body of the people (*Jana*) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇīs or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly.[7]

The ministers were undoubtedly an important part of the administrative machinery. The idea is admirably put in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[8] where a minister Viśvavedin says to Śauri (a brother of Khanitra)—"Thou art the worker, we are the instrument." Ministers of some kings[9] are mentioned. It was advisable for a king to set spies upon his ministers as well as on other servants.[10]

This brings us to the espionage system which seems to be regarded as essential for the state at that time[11] as it is for any other period of Hindu history.

Subordinate or vassal kings, too, are referred to.[12]

One-sixth was the tax payable to the king.[13] It was a good source of income to the state.[14]

1. *Mārk*, chs. 122 (Avikshita), 128 (Marutta) and 133 (Dama).
2. *Cf.* the famous story of Nābhāga in *Mārk*, ch. 113.
3. The story of Nābhāga is a typical example (*Mārk*, chs. 113-114). *Cf.* also the story of Marutta and Saṁvarta. The former gave his daughter in marriage to the latter.
4. P. H. A. I., p. 173.
5. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 21. *Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 6.
6. P. H. A. I., p. 174.
7. *Ait Br.*, VIII. 17 where the people (*Janāh*) are clearly distinguished from the *Rājakartārah* (King-makers).
8. *Mārk*, 117. 37.
9. *Mārk*, chs. 125 (Karandhama), 134 and 136 (Dama), 109 (Rājyavardhana).
10. *Mārk*, 129. 32.
11. *Mārk*, chs. 116, 129, 130.
12. *Mārk*, chs. 117 (Khanitra), 129 (Marutta), 109 (Rājyavardhana).
13. *Mārk*, 129. 38.
14. *Mārk*, chs. 113 and 116.

Another essential part of government, like finance, was the army. It consisted of four parts, *viz.*, elephants, horses, chariots and infantry.[1] We have references to many battles and weapons, but there is nothing special about them and they follow the usual pattern.[2] Very possibly later things were projected into these early times with regard to this.

SOCIETY

The society of the time was divided into four castes, *viz.*, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The caste system seems to have been established very early. The story of Nābhāga also illustrates this point. One of the principal duties of the king was to maintain the existing caste system.[3] Vatsaprī is praised because in his realm there was no confusion among the castes. The duties of the Kshatriyas are referred to at some places[4] and at one place[5] the term Kshatriya is defined as 'one who guards somebody from injury.' But it was Nābhāga who appears to be the founder of Vaiśālī's economic prosperity. He was degraded to Vaiśya-hood and he preferred to live like a true Vaiśya. He devoted his attention to the tending of cattle, cultivation and trade.[6] Much of the marshy land[7] east of the Gandak river must have been brought under cultivation by him and through his agencies. The caste system was, however, not rigid and people from one caste might go to the other caste.[8]

Marriage was a well-established institution. We find instances of Rākshasa form of marriage[9] too. The Gāndharva form of marriage was ordained for Kshatriyas only[10]. The svayaṁvara system was prevalent among the royal families,[11] but on some occasions the svayaṁvaras did not end peacefully and the girls were taken away by force.

1. *Mārk*, 136. 8.
2. See *Mārk*, chs. 113, 116, 120-123, 126, 130, 133, 136
3. *Mārk*, chs. 116, 129.
4. *Ibid.*, chs. 122, 126, 131, 134.
5. *Ibid.*, 114. 36. *Cf. Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 53.
6. *Mārk*, 114 4.
7. *Śat. Br.*, I. 4. 1. 15 (S. B. E., 12, p. 105).
8. See *supra*.
9. *Mārk*, chs. 113 (Nābhāga), 122 (Avikshita) and 133 (Dama).
10. *Ibid.*, ch. 133.
11. *Ibid*, chs. 122 (Karandhama, Avikshita) and 133 (Dama).

The first wife of a prince must be Kshatriyan and other wives might belong to other castes. This was the general rule. Nābhāga did not observe this rule and was consequently degraded to become a Vaiśya for having taken as his first wife a Vaiśya girl.[1] S. C. Sarkar conjectures that concubines of the Vaiśya class were customarily taken into the Vaiśāleya harem, as in some other harems, especially in the early period and cites Nābhāga's abducting a Vaiśya-tenant's daughter as an example.[2]

Marriage connections between equals were desirable.[3] Father's permission was sought when marrying a maiden. Father's permission on the part of the bridegroom also was considered necessary as is evident from the insistence of the Vaiśya father on the prince's (Nābhāga's) securing the king's permission.[3]

There was no objection to marrying a lady who had been previously abducted by 'asuras' or others and rescued, either forthwith or after long stay with the abductor. The easy and normal subsequent 're-marriages' of such girls show that, of the later objections to widow-remarriages, a principle one had little force in those days. Several instances of the type are known to the Vaiśāleya tradition. To an uncertain but a remote early period (pre-Mānva, referring to Auttami-Manu) the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* ascribes two instances of abduction, of Uttama's queen and of a Brāhmaṇī, and the subsequent smooth restoration of both to their husbands.[4] Bhalandana's son Vatsaprī (step 8), of the Vaiśālī line, rescued the youthful Mudāvatī, daughter of his father's friend, king 'Vidūratha' of the Nirvindhyā region, from her abductor Kujrimbha, whom he slew; he then married her, though she had lived with that Kujṛimbha for a considerable length of time.[5] Avikshita (step 39) married the Vidiśā princess Vaiśālinī-Bhāminī after rescuing her from an abductor whom he slew (he had declined to marry her before, having been defeated before her at her svayamvara where he had seized her).[6] Again Dama (step 42) married

1. *Ibid*, chs. 113-114
2. S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India (Pre-Buddhistic Ages)* (London, 1928), pp. 219-220.
3. *Mārk*, ch. 113.
4. *Ibid*, chs. 69-72.
5. *Ibid.*, ch. 116.
6. *Ibid.*, chs. 122-127.

Sumanā-Dāśārṇī after she had been seized from him by the Madra and Vidarbha princes, whom he slew or defeated and thus rescued her.[1]

Polygamy was an established institution. Khanitra (step 20) had three wives.[2] Avikshita (step 39) was not content with the seven wives[3] who became his by self-choice, and developed a princely hobby of carrying off princesses holding their svayaṁvaras and thus filling his harem; and his capture of a Yādava princess led to a concerted attack (apparently a Haihaya invasion), which was resisted successfully by his father Karandhama.[4] Marutta (step 40) followed his father in having seven royal wives;[5] besides he was a particularly rich prince who rose to Samrāṭ-hood by wealth alone, while others had to fight for the rank.[6]

There are hardly any traces of 'niyoga' amongst the Vaiśāleyas and the Vaidehas.[7] The explanation may be the martial character of the Vaiśāleyas[8] and the absence of laxity in the Vaidehas at such a remote time.[9]

Instances of widow-burning are available. Thus the Vaiśālī king Khanitra's (step 20) three devoted wives are said to have died along with their husband, with whom they had retired to the forest in old age; how they died is made clear by the subsequent case of the retired Vaiśālī king Narishyanta (step 41) and his wife Indrasenā who ascended the funeral pyre of her husband when he was murdered by a Yādava king, Vapushmat, in his forest retreat. Such 'sahamaraṇa' was not, however, fully customary in this family, for a few steps above, Vīrā, the queen of Karandhama (step 38), continued in her austerities for several years after her husband's death in their forest hermitage (within a Brāhmaṇa settlement).[10] Thus widow-burning does not appear to have been a *custom* at the time. This was practised

1. *Ibid.*, ch. 133. For this see A. I. S. H., p. 187.
2. *Ibid.*, 118. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, 122.
4. *Ibid.*, chs. 122-127.
5. *Ibid*, ch. 131 (end).
6. *Mbh*, II. 15. 16. See A. I. S. H., pp. 205-206 also.
7. A. I. S. H., pp. 163-164.
8. *Vide* the graphic account of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.
9. Later on, in Ashṭāvakra's time, however, there were temptations at the Janaka court (*Mbh*, III. 133).
10. A. I. S. H., pp. 186, 192-193, 195-196, 197.

among many primitive Indo-Germanic races in Asia and Europe, and it can only be expected to have existed among the early Indo-Aryans in some form or other. But the Vedic literature shows very few traces of such a custom.[1] It is not referred to as an ancient custom in the *Ṛig-Veda*, whereas it is found in the *Atharva-Veda*.[2] Thus these stray references to widow-burning may have some truth in them.

We find numerous references to kings' going to the forest after anointing their sons or successors.[3] The practice was not popular in India in the beginning. But the same cannot be said with reference to North-Eastern India. We know from Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions that the kings of Videha used to adopt the vānaprastha stage of life very frequently. Vaiśālī and Videha, situated in the same geographical unit (surrounded by the Himālayas and the Gandak, the Ganges and the Kosi rivers), also had kindred people (Mānva) as rulers. Moreover, the Himālayas being so near, it was possible for the Vaisalian rulers, as for the Videhan ones, to practise austerities without any difficulty. Thus though the development of the four stages of life belongs to a later age, we may accept these Puranic statements as correct regarding the Vaisalian kings joining the vānaprastha stage.

RELIGION

Details of Indian religion for the period under review are fairly well-known. These religious practices must have been prevalent in the Vaiśālī region more or less. But here we shall not repeat those things. We shall mention only such things as are known definitely in connection with Vaiśālī. This limitation of ours should never be lost sight of.

The Vedic sacrificial religion was in vogue. The kings of the Vaiśālī region used to perform several sacrifices in their times.[4] The number of sacrifices performed by them is often legendary and the stories of gifts made on such occasions also are

1. A. I. S. H., p. 82.
2. AV., XVIII. 3. 1-3, and perhaps also 4.
3. *Mārk*, chs. 116 (Bhalandana), 118 (Khanitra), 128 (Karandhama), 132 (Marutta) and 134 (Narishyanta).
4. *Mārk*, chs. 116 (Bhalandana, Vatsaprī), 117 (Prāṁśu, Prajāti), 119 (Kshupa, Vivimśa), 120 (Khaninetra), 128 (Karandhama), 129 (Marutta), 132 (Narishyanta), 109 (Rājyavardhana).

of the same category; but the fact of their being sacrificers may be accepted without any hesitation. The long story of Marutta's sacrifice[1] with the help of Saṁvarta also points to the same conclusion.

This brings us to the question of priesthood. The court of Vaiśālī became the centre of the Āṅgirasa priests. Thus Karandhama's chaplain was an Āṅgirasa ṛishi; so was the chaplain of his son, Avikshita. And the court of Marutta Āvikshita was very much under Āṅgirasa priestly influence. Saṁvarta, an Āṅgirasa priest and a brother of Uchathya (father of Dīrghatamas) and Bṛihaspati (father of Bharadvāja and grandfather of Vidathin), was given Saṁyatā,[2] the daughter of king Marutta, in marriage. This indicates the power and influence enjoyed by the priestly class in the royal court. These ṛishis who began in the country of Vaiśālī, moved westwards in time. Bharadvāja moved to Kāśī and became the purohita to king Divodāsa II of Kāśī. Vidathin Bhāradvāja was adopted by king Bharata as his son and the Bhāradvājas remained connected with the Paurava dynasty. Another direction for the expansion of the Āṅgirasas was the east and Dīrghatamas, carried downstream, was taken to Aṅga where he was welcomed by king Bali.[3] The Āṅgirasas were later joined by the Vishṇuvṛiddhas, the Hārītas and the Rathītaras.[4]

Principal divinities worshipped in the Vaiśālī region were the Fire, the Sun, Indra, and Lakshmī. Fire-offerings were made by the ṛishis who dwelt in the hermitages. These were defiled by the evil-behaved Nāgas in the time of Marutta[5] who had to take steps to prevent this. Rājyavardhana is depicted as a great worshipper of the Sun.[6] Assiduously practising severe austerities Khanīnetra gratified Indra in order to obtain a son and the adorable Indra, lord of the gods, granted him the boon of having a son.[7] The blessings of Indra and all other world-guardians and the ṛishis were sought on the birth of Marutta.[8] With great sacrifices Marutta sacrificed to Indra and the other

1. *Mbh*, XIV. 3-10.
2. A. I. S H , p. 148, n. 1; p. 178, n. 4.
3. A. I. H. T., pp. 158, 220, 310. References are given there.
4. A I H. T., pp. 246-247. See also references under them.
5. *Mārk*, ch. 130.
6. *Ibid.*, ch. 109.
7. *Ibid.*, ch. 121.
8. *Ibid.*, ch. 127.

gods.[1] The Aindra Mahābhisheka[2] and the Māheśvara Satra[3] of Marutta and the famous story[4] of Saṁvarta officiating at the sacrifice of this king hint at one or other form of Indra-worship. The wife of Karandhama, engaged in the difficult penance, the 'what-want-ye', performed the worship of Lakshmī and other divinities.[5]

Ancestor-worship seems to have been prevalent at the time. The ministers of Karandhama are stated to have explained to him the implications of having no issue. "There will be ruin to thy family, and ruin to the cakes and water offered to the pitṛis; thou will have this great dread of enemies with loss of sacrifices."[6] King Viśāla of Viśālā is known to have offered *piṇḍa* at Gayā for having children and his desire was fulfilled.[7] Marutta is said to have constructed chaityas,[8] the exact nature of which is unknown.

The study of the *Vedas* was an important aspect of religion and of the prince's training. Khanitra was well-versed in the *Vedas*.[9] Aviskhita while a prince learnt the whole of the *Vedas*.[10] Marutta acquired the *Vedas* from the religious teachers and thus became skilled in the *Veda*.[11] Prince Dama learnt the *Vedas* from Śakti.[12] The Ṛich, Yajus and Sāman hymns were repeated by the sun-worshippers in the reign of Rājyavardhana who, according to his own statement, had studied all the *Vedas*.[13] Other branches of the Vedic literature were yet to be developed and hence they justifiably do not find mention.

1. *Ibid.*, ch. 129.
2. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 4. 21.
3. *Rām*, VII. 18. 16. Īśvara=Indra.
4. *Mbh*, XIV. 5-10.
5. *Mārk*, ch. 125.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Nāradīya*, II. 44. 26-41. *Varāha*, 7. 13-26. *Vā*, 111. 7-15. *Gar*, 84. 37-43. *Ag*, 115. 54-59.
8. *Mbh*, XII. 29. 21.
9. *Mārk*, ch. 117.
10. *Ibid.*, ch. 122.
11. *Ibid.*, ch. 128.
12. *Ibid.*, ch. 133.
13. *Ibid.*, ch. 109.

BOOK TWO

THE INTERLUDE

(About six centuries)

CHAPTER IX

THE DARK AGE OF VAISALIAN HISTORY

(from the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic)

From the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is a long period of about six centuries which may rightly be called the Dark Age of Vaisalian History. No king of Vaiśālī after Sumati is known to literature. The existence of Vaiśālī city or a republic here before or at the time of the Bhārata War is also not clearly indicated. Its absorption by some strong neighbour (like Kosala or Mallarāshṭra or Videha) is also not known. This complete silence about Vaiśālī constitutes a yet unsolved mystery of ancient Indian history.

In the absence of the concrete evidence we are left to surmise. Some courses so far suggested are:—

1. "Neither the king nor the people of Vaiśālī are mentioned to have taken any part in the Bhārata War. But the Mallas[1] are mentioned and perhaps they had the upper hand in the territory of Vaiśālī and perhaps a good portion of it was enjoyed by the Videhas."[2] The same writer, D. S. Triveda, suggests at another place that "the kingdom was probably merged into that of Mithilā".[3]

2. A slightly different suggestion has been made by S. C. Sarkar[4] about the fate of Vaiśālī. "After Pramati, it formed part of Kosala for some time. But with the decline of Kosalan power (due to partition of Rāma's empire into eight parts among the children of the four brothers), it may have passed into the possession of the dynasty of Mithilā, where Rāma's brother-in-law Bhānumant ruled. In the times of the

1. *Mbh*, II. 30. 3, 12. (Triveda's wrong reference has been corrected here.)
2. D. S. Triveda, J. B. R. S., 1951, Parts I-II, p. 145.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
4. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 65.

Bhārata War the Vaiśālī princes had separate political and matrimonial relations with the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas;[1] but, after the Bhārata War, the continued eclipse of Ayodhyā and the revival of Mithilā leaves no doubt that the Vaiśālī region became part of this Videha kingdom."

3. A sane suggestion of V. Rangacharya[2] is as follows: "It is very probable that in the centuries which followed Sumati, Vaiśālī was either subject to Videha, and eventually shared with it the upheavals which brought about the triumph of oligarchical or republican governments, or was subject to the same commotions even in earlier times."

We may offer some reasons for believing that Vaiśālī was absorbed by Videha:—

(a) Sīradhvaja Janaka followed an annexationist policy towards Sāṅkāśyā. This policy might have been continued later. After the Bhārata War we find a "revival of Mithilā (after Kritakshaṇa, who was contemporary with that war), under the Janaka Ugrasena and at least three other Janakas after him (Janadeva, Dharmadhvaja, and Āyasthūṇa), —which renaissance lasted for about twelve generations after the Great War, that is for about 250 years."[3]

(b) While Videha was growing from strength to strength, there was continued eclipse of Ayodhyā. To make matters worse, Kosala engaged itself in a contest with the adjoining Kāśī kingdom.

As the *Mahābhārata* does not mention Vaiśālī as a republic in spite of the fact that it provides us with the names of many tribes and contains two valuable chapters[4] showing the strength and weakness of the republican form of government, it does not appear reasonable to regard it as a republic at such a remote time. "Had the republic been organised after the fall of Vaiśālī monarchy, its president or people must have figured in the Mahābhārata days."[5] The reason of the complete absence of the Vaisalian royal names for the post-Sumati period appears to be that the territory was probably

1. See *infra*.
2. V. Rangacharya, *Vedic India*, Pt. I, p. 434.
3. This second part of our argument is given by S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*
4. *Mbh*, XII. 81, 107.
5. D. S. Triveda, J. B. R. S., 1951, Parts I-II, p. 145.

divided among several tribes and clans and hence it was not considered proper by the chroniclers to include the names of petty kings and kinglets or heads of such clans.

The *Mahābhārata* furnishes indirect evidences of the fact that Vaiśālī existed in some form or other in the age of the Bhārata War. As we already know, Viśālā and Vaiśālī are interchangeable. But such a Viśālā (in the sense of our Vaiśālī) is not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. There Viśālā stands for Badarī[1] or a place near Badarī[2] according to the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha. The Great Epic, however, mentions Vaiśālī (a princess), Vaiśāleyāḥ Bhoginaḥ (the Nāga chieftains of Vaiśālī) and Viśālā (a river) which may be considered as connected with our Vaiśālī. If Nīlakaṇṭha is rejected as a late authority belonging to the seventeenth century A. D., Viśālā may refer to Vaiśālī instead of Badarī or a place near it.

Bhadrā-Vaiśālī was probably the "daughter of the king of Viśālā".[3] And this Viśālā might be our Vaiśālī. Tradition knows of kings of different dynasties sharing the favours of this princess. The king of Kārūsha (either Vṛiddhaśarman or Dantavakra), Śiśupāla of Chedi, and Vasudeva of Dvārāvatī (and Mathurā) are all stated to have had Bhadrā-Vaiśālī (which name can have belonged to only one person in Sarkar's opinion) for their wife. Śiśupāla, however, obtained her by (impersonation or) force,[4] because he abducted the Vaiśālī princess Bhadrā while she was on her way from Vaiśālī to Dvārakā; but regarding Vasudeva and Kārūsha there are no special statements. This Bhadrā is also stated to have been Śiśupāla's maternal uncle's wife, whom he enjoyed under the guise of the Kārūsha king, who was his mother's sister's husband. So Vasudeva and his brother-in-law apparently had equal access to Bhadrā-Vaiśālī. Thus she may either have been a 'shared' wife of Vasudeva, the Kārūsha king, and Śiśupāla or a widow of one of the latter two, finally taken into the seraglio of Vasudeva. On the death of Vasudeva, she,[5] along with his other favourite wives (*viz.*, Devakī, Rohiṇī-Pauravī, and Madirā) ascended his funeral

1. *Mbh*, III. 139. 11; XII. 344. 20.
2. *Ibid*, III. 90. 25-26.
3. Sorensen, *Index*, p. 699.
4. *Mbh*, II. 45. 11.
5. *Mbh*, XVI. 7. 18.

pyre.[1] We are not sure if Bhadrā-Vaiśālī was one girl or there were three separate girls bearing this name.

As might be expected, Kṛishṇa's cousin, Arjuna, was assisted in the Bhārata War by 'Vaiśāleyāḥ Bhoginaḥ' said to be the 'Nāga' chieftains of Nāga clans;[2] but 'bhoginaḥ' might also be equivalent of 'rājānaḥ'. (Probably the 'Nāga' princes were called 'Bhogins' or 'Bhojas'[3] for wearing the Nāga emblem—the cobra-hood mark, 'bhoga'—on their crowns, like Egyptian sovereigns.) Here, too, the 'bhoginaḥ' or 'rājānaḥ' of Vaiśālī are referred to (in the plural).[4]

The geography of the *Mahābhārata* knows of a Viśālā river[5], which was a branch or affluent of the Gaṇḍakī near Vaiśālī. This river is said to be a sacred one, in 'Gaya' country, counted as a second Sarasvatī, one of the 'Sapta-Sārasvata' group of sacred rivers, a tīrtha for pitṛi-worship, and as having a shrine of Karavīra,[6] the Nāga, at Karavīra-pura[7] on its banks. S. C. Sarkar[8] finds it tempting to identify these place-names with Kolhuā village (containing the Asokan pillar of Vaiśālī), adjacent to Saraiyā, on the east bank of the Bayā river (wrong for 'Gaya').

1. S. C Sarkar. A. I. S H , pp. 153-154 and 154n. 1, 191 n. 2, 196, 216, 222 n. 3; also *Homage*, p. 63. We have here adopted the view of S. C. Sarkar.

2. *Mbh*, VIII. 87. 44. We may add that one Takshaka Vaiśāleya is referred to in the *Atharva-Veda* (VII. 10. 29) and the Nāgas of Vaiśālī are mentioned in the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (*Dial* , II, p. 288). The association of Śiśu-'Nāga' with Vaiśālī (George Turnour, *Mahāvaṁso*, Ceylon, 1837, Introduction, pp. 37-38) also may not be without significance. Serpent-images of the Gupta times found in the area are preserved in the Vaiśālī Museum.

3. The *Aitareya-Brāhmana* (VIII. 14) refers to the use of 'Bhoja' as designating the clan name of a princely family. It says that all kings of living creatures (chiefly beasts) in the southern region are inaugurated for the enjoyment (of pleasures) and called 'Bhoja', *i.e.*, enjoyer. A. Banerji-Sastri ('Viśvāmitra in Bihar' in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, Patna, 1930, p. 186) suggests that Bhojpur in Shahabad district was one of the seats of the Bhojas and that this term is not concerned with Rājā Bhoja of Ujjain in Malwa (contrast *Shahabad District Gazetteer*, p. 232). If it is so, the 'Bhoginaḥ' or Bhojas of Vaiśālī, so close to Bhojpur, come within the range of possibility.

4. S C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 63. Here also we have adopted Sarkar's view.

5. *Mbh*, IX 38. 4, 21; XIII. 25. 44.

6. *Ibid.*, I. 35. 12; V. 103. 14.

7. *Ibid.*, XIII. 25 44.

8. S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 63. We have found his suggestion to be useful and hence incorporated it here.

We now want to offer a suggestion which, if accepted, gives us a glimpse into the life and destiny of the Vaiśālī people in the age of the Bhārata War. The *Mahābhārata* gives a list of the eastern tribes vanquished by Bhīmasena in his digvijaya. This includes the Gaṇḍakas[1] (*i.e.*, the Gaṇḍaka people). Who were these Gaṇḍaka people? We propose to identify them with the people of Vaiśālī for two reasons:—

1. The people of Vaiśālī were (as they are even now) the inhabitants of the Gaṇḍaka valley and hence could very appropriately be called the Gaṇḍakas.[2]

2. The Gaṇḍakas are mentioned just before the Videhas.[3] Thus, if this order gives any clue to the geographical position of the tribes, it is this that the Videhas lay to the east of the Gaṇḍakas, as Bhīmasena was proceeding from the west to the east.

We have to make another suggestion also at this stage. In our view the three principal caste groups of Vaiśālī are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *viz.*, the Śarmakas[4] (=Brāhmaṇas), the Varmakas[5] (=Kshatriyas) and the Gopālakakshas[6] (=Vaiśyas) in connection with the eastern conquests of Bhīmasena. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the defeated parties at two places in the same chapter in the following order :—

List I—the Gopālakakshas, the Northern Kosalas, the king (*adhipa*) of the Mallas and (the) Jalodbhava (country).[7]

List II—the Southern Mallas, Bhogavat Parvata, the Śarmakas, the Varmakas, the Vaidehaka king Janaka, the Śakas, the Barbaras and the seven Kirāta chieftains (*adhipatis*).[8]

1. *Mbh*, II. 29. 4.

2. The practice of calling the people after a river valley was known to Megasthenes also who mentions the Gangaridai, *v. l.* Gangaritai (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 32). Pargiter suggests (J. A. S. B., 1897, p. 102) that the allusion to the Suhmas and Pra-Suhmas between Videha and Magadha in the account of Bhīma's eastern conquests (*Mbh*, II. 30. 16) seems to be an error and that the reading should be Soṇas and Pra-Soṇas, which would mean people living near the river Soṇa, the modern Sone. He adds that the above suggestion of his may be compared with the name Śaṇavatyas which occurs along with Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras and Gayas (*Mbh*, II. 52. 16), and which seems to be a mistake for Soṇavatyas.

3. *Mbh*, II. 29. 4.

4. *Mbh*, II. 30. 13.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, II. 30. 3; VI. 9. 56.

7. *Ibid.*, II. 30. 3-4.

8. *Ibid.*, II. 30, 12-15.

Here, just as the king of the Mallas of list I and the Southern Mallas of list II complete the Malla picture and Jalodbhava of list I and the Śakas, the Barbaras and the Kirāta chieftains of list II complete another picture of the Himalayan tribes, similarly, we venture to suggest, the Gopālakakshas of list I and the Śarmakas and the Varmakas of list II complete the picture of the Gaṇḍaka tribe mentioned in the previous chapter, *i.e.*, of Vaiśālī. Our reasons for this identification are as follows:—

1. The position of the Śarmakas and the Varmakas just before Videha leaves no doubt that they lived in the territory of Vaiśālī lying just to the west of Videha.

2. In Jaina literature Kuṇḍapura, the birth-place of Mahāvīra, is depicted as consisting of two distinct and well-defined parts, *viz.*, those meant for the Brāhmaṇas (in the south) and for the Kshatriyas (in the north) who may easily be identified with the Śarmakas and the Varmakas, because Śarman and Varman are recognised to be the titles of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas respectively.[1] Only the Vaiśālī area is noted for such a clear-cut distinction at such a remote time.

3. In Tibetan literature the city of Vaiśālī is depicted as consisting of three districts where lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions.[2] This also hints at some distinction presumably based on caste.

4. After identifying the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya sections of Vaiśālī, the natural temptation is to make an effort for finding out the third constituent part (or element) of Vaisalian population which should be connected with or equivalent to the Vaiśya class, because in the sixth century B. C. we hear of Vāṇijyagrāma from Jaina literature. Moreover, the story of the origin of the Lichchhavis as given by Buddhaghosha mentions cowherds[3] who brought up the Lichchhavi (or Vajji) prince and princess. Who were these cowherds ? The clue is provided by the word Gopāla-kaksha mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* whose location (in the *Mahābhārata*) near about Kosala, Malla and Jalodbhava (Himalayan) territories also supports our identification of the

1. *Vish*, III. 10. 9. *Manu-Smriti*, II. 32.
2. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.
3. B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 18-21.

Gopāla-kakshas with the Vaiśya population of pre-Lichchhavian (pre-Vajjian) Vaiśālī. It may be added that Vaiśālī had already come to possess a good Vaiśya population due to the degradation of Nābhāga and his descendants from Kshatriya-hood.[1]

5. At one place the *Mahābhārata* gives the list of tribes in this order:—the Kachchhas, the Gopālakakshas, the Jāṅgalas, the Kuru-Varṇakas, the Kirātas, the Barbaras, the Siddhas, the Vaidehas and the Tāmraliptakas.[2] The mention of the Gopālakakshas along with the Himalayan tribes and the Vaidehas supports our view.

6. That the three sections of the Gaṇḍaka people of Vaiśālī existed from beforehand is proved from other sources: (a) The Brāhmaṇas acted as priests. The famous story of Saṁvarta in the time of Marutta illustrates this. Moreover, the Vasishṭha priests of the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā probably came to Vaiśālī also along with the Ikshvākus as the Lichchhavis of the later period are called Vāsishṭhas. The Ikshvākus had three kingdoms namely at Ayodhyā, Vaiśālī and Mithilā. The remnants continued in the Vajjian period also. (b) The story of Nābhāga says that he and his descendants were degraded to become Vaiśyas. They continued as farmers and Gopālakakshas in the time of the Mahābhārata and even later.

Thus we can conclude that the period of the Bhārata War saw the beginning of a process of dividing Vaiśālī into three caste group areas which culminated in the sixth century B. C. of which we have so much evidence. The possibility of the advent of some fresh tribes from the mountainous areas and their admixture with Vaisalian population also cannot be entirely precluded.[3]

The Pali commentary[4] *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddaka-*

1. The story is given in the *Mārk*, 113-114. Nābhāga's wife asked her son Bhalandana to be a Gopāla (*Mārk*, 114. 6, 9) which word now assumes peculiar importance for us.

2. *Mbh*, VI. 9. 56-57.

3. *Cf.* V. Rangacharya, *Vedic India*, Part I, p 434: "It is quite probable that, to a certain extent, this important political and constitutional change was due to the advent of the Mongoloid or semi-Mongoloid elements from the further north and east". The existence of the Nāga Bhogins of Vaiśālī (*Mbh*, VIII. 87. 44) may also point to the admixture of population by this time.

4. *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, edited by H. Smith, P. T. S., Vol. I, pp. 158-165. The summary is given by B. C. Law in *Kshatriya Clan in Buddhist India*, pp. 17-21.

pāṭha narrates a story about the origin of the Lichchhavis (Vajjis) which is of a legendary character. This speaks of an ascetic along the shore of the Ganges close by a settlement of cowherds and also a (local ?) king. We have no means to examine these details. Gradually the "dark age" was nearing its close when the Lichchhavis came to the scene to usher in a new era of republicanism in the history of the Gaṇḍaka Valley.

BOOK THREE

THE REPUBLIC

Circa 725 B. C.—*C.* 484 B. C.

(*About two and a half centuries*)

INTRODUCTION

So far we have treated the monarchical history of the Vaiśālī region. But some time before the advent of Buddhism the whole tract came to be dominated by a group of some republican clans with their capital at Vaiśālī. We are fortunate in possessing wealth of details about this period in Buddhist literature and in the subsequent pages we shall utilise it. But before we do so we have to note a few problems which still remain unsolved and for solving which we have no means. They are :—

1. The last known monarch of Vaiśālī was Sumati who was a contemporary of Daśaratha. Some time before the advent of Buddhism Vaiśālī is found to be the capital of the Vaiśālī region. The beginning of the Vajjian Republic (*i.e.*, the Republic of the numerous clans so called) may be placed at *c.* 725 B.C.[1] But this does not solve the problem. It raises some connected issues, *e.g.*, (a) When did the Lichchhavis (the most important of the clans) come to power—(i) just after Sumati or (ii) after the Mahābhārata War or (iii) just before the Vajjian Republic or (iv) simultaneously with it ? (b) Did the rise of all the republican clans take place at the same time or did they come one after the other and get themselves amalgamated with one another ?

2. Karāla Janaka was the last king of the Janaka dynasty who perished with his relations, and the dynasty came to an end. Did the Lichchhavis have anything to do with the fall of the Janaka dynasty (under Karāla Janaka) ? Who were the successors of the Janakas at Mithilā ?

Leaving these problems unsolved due to lack of data, we now take up in detail the history of the Vajjian Republic which represents the most glorious period of North Bihar history.

1. See *infra*.

CHAPTER X

THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The exact date of the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is not known to us. For determining this we may put forth the following data:—

1. The Vajjian Republic was a well-established institution in the time of the Buddha (567-487 B. C.) who spoke well of it and referred to its seven great characteristics.[1] For attaining this high position we must allow about one or one and a half centuries.

2. The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* refers to sixteen Mahājanapadas[2] (states) which include, besides Vajji, Kāśī and Aṅga as well. Kāśī was conquered by Kosala and Aṅga by Magadha at later dates. Thus the Vajjians had established their republic before the Kosalan conquest of Kāśī and the Magadhan conquest of Aṅga. The exact, or even approximate, date of the first event is not known. The second event took place in the reign of Bimbisāra (547-495 B.C.).

3. The story of Karāla Janaka,[3] who perished along with his kingdom and relations due to his misrule, shows that there was a great dynastic revolution in Videha ending in his death. This might probably have something to do with the foundation of the Vajjian Republic in the Vaiśālī region. In the absence of any concrete data, we may accept this as a working hypothesis[4] and proceed to determine the date of the death of Karāla Janaka, the last king of the Janaka dynasty of Videha.

For this purpose we have to know the number of generations of Videhan rulers who governed Videha from the Bhārata

1. The *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*. See *infra* for details.

2. P. H. A. I., p. 95. See *ibid.*, pp. 95-96 for an analysis of relevant texts. Raychaudhuri accepts "the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka" (p. 96).

3. See P. H. A. I., pp. 82-83 for references.

4. Raychaudhuri has already done it when he says (*ibid.*, p. 83) that "the overthrow of the monarchy" in Videha "was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy."

War (*C.* 950 B. C.) to the death of Karāla Janaka. And for determining this, we have to find out the number of generations of Indian kings that ruled between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism. This can be done with the help of the *Purāṇas* which supply post-Bhārata War genealogies for three dynasties, and numbers of kings of various Indian states who ruled between the Bhārata War and the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda. From a critical analysis of the three post-Bhārata War genealogies of the Pauravas (Hastināpura-Kauśāmbī), the Aikshvākus (Kosala) and the Bārhadrathas (Magadha) and their comparison with the numbers of kings of various Indian states who ruled between the Bhārata War and the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda, we arrive at the conclusion that twenty-two generations flourished between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism. The process resulting in the said conclusion is as follows:—

Pradhan[1] has reconstructed the genealogies of these three post-Bhārata War dynasties handed down to us in a more or less perfect order, all of them starting from the time of the Mahābhārata War and stopping with the age of Gautama Buddha: (1) the Paurava line of the descendants of Arjuna Pāṇḍava, (2) the Kosala line of the descendants of Bṛihadbala, and (3) the Magadha line of the descendants of Sahadeva Jārāsandhi. He has shown that from the accession of Parikshit (grandson of Arjuna Pāṇḍava) to the accession of Udayana (son of Śatānīka II) twenty-two generations passed away;[2] from the accession of Bṛihatkshaya on the death of his father Bṛihadbala at the Bhārata War to the accession of Prasenajit (*circa* 533 B.C.) twenty-two generations passed away;[3] and we have a line of twenty-two kings from Somādhi (successor of Sahadeva Jārāsandhi) to the last king Ripuñjaya both inclusive.[4] Thus we find that from the Bhārata War to the rise of Buddhism twenty-two generations passed away. We accept this verdict

1. S. N. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 249-259.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 259. Hence from Arjuna's son Abhimanyu to Śatānika II's accession there were 22 generations.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 254. The accession of Bimbisāra, who presumably succeeded Ripuñjaya in Magadha, and in whose time the rise of Buddhism took place, is dated 547 B. C., if we accept the Buddhist tradition (*ibid.*, pp. 244, 245).

of the three post-Bhārata War genealogies available to us. The average reign for the period works out at $(950-540)^{1} \div 22 = 18\frac{7}{11}$ years, *i.e.*, 19 years.

If we compare this result with another similar piece of Puranic evidence, we find that our conclusion is correct. The *Purāṇas* give the numbers of kings of certain Indian states who ruled from the time of the narration of the *Purāṇas* (*c.* 850 B.C. according to Pargiter) to the extermination of those states by Mahāpadma Nanda (whose accession took place in 347 B. C. if the Buddhist evidence contained in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is relied on). According to the *Purāṇas* "there reigned between those initial and final points, 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 Kāśis, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Aśmakas, 26 Kurus (Pauravas), 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas and 20 Vītihotras, that is 257 kings in ten kingdoms, or a mean of 26 kings."[2] For these 26 we may allow reigns of medium length. Pargiter,[3] who examined 14 series of from 20 to 30 kings in various eastern and western countries, found that the longest average just exceeded 24 years in one case, the shortest was about 12 and the average of all was 19. Hence, on principle, we may allow 19 years as the average to each reign. And this is confirmed when we find out the average in this particular case which works out at $(850-347) \div 26 = 19\frac{9}{26}$ years, *i.e.*, 19 years (according to the rule of approximation).

We can test this in another way too. In order to get the number of generations from the Bhārata War to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, "we must add the kings who preceded those three kings" (during whose reigns the *Purāṇas* were narrated), "namely, 5 Pauravas (for Yudhishṭhira's reign must be included), 4 Aikhvākus and 6 Bārhadrathas, that is, a mean of 5".[4] Thus the number of generations comes to $26+5=31$ and the average reign for the entire period works at $(950-347) \div 31 = 19\frac{14}{31}$ years, *i.e.*, 19 years.

1. The average of the dates of accessions of Bimbisāra (547 B. C.) and Prasenajit (533 B. C.) has been taken as 540 B. C. for the sake of calculational convenience

2. A. I. H T., p. 181. *Cf.* D. K. A., pp. 23-24 (Sanskrit text) and p. 69 (English translation). *Note the correction* with regard to the number of Kuru kings (36 Kurus in D. K. A., corrected as 26 Kurus in A. I. H. T.).

3. A. *I.* H. T., pp. 181-182,

4. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Applying the result to the history of Magadha in whose case only the list of kings is continuous, we find that our conclusion that twenty-two generations passed away between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism (say, 540 B. C., taking the approximate mean date of the beginning of the reigns of Bimbisāra, Śatānīka II and Prasenajit) receives strange corroboration. According to our calculation there were twenty-two generations up to the time of Bimbisāra's accession. The total number of generations from the Bhārata War to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, as shown above, is 31. Thus there should be nine generations from the accession of Bimbisāra to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, which is admirably correct.[1]

Next we attempt to find out the number of generations of Videhan kings between the Bhārata War and the extinction of the Janaka dynasty and the subsequent predominance of the Vajjian Republic in North Bihar. One thing is certain that the Vajjian Republic had been established much earlier than the rise of Buddhism. If we admit all the kings of Videha for the post-War monarchical period, there will be too many of them and our chronological framework will collapse. Hence we can state frankly that there is no 'accommodation' for all of them.[2]

The *Jātakas* mention the names of fifteen kings[3] of Videha in all, including those of Makhādeva, who is regarded as the founder of Mithilā monarchy, and Aṅgati whom we consider to have flourished not earlier than the sixth century B. C.[4] Thus there are left thirteen kings whom we would like to place in the post-War period before the death of Karāla Janaka. For practical purposes, this list may be regarded as more or less complete.

1. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 228) the rulers of Magadha and their reign-periods were as follows:—Bimbisāra (52 years), Ajātaśatru (32 years), Udāyin (16 years), Anuruddha and Muṇḍa (8 years), Nāga-Dāsaka (24 years), Śiśunāga (18 years), Kālāśoka (28 years) and the ten sons of Kālāśoka (22 years).

2. A few may be 'accommodated' if we suppose a collateral branch.

3. The names of the kings of Videha available in the *Jātakas* are as follows (*Jātaka* Nos. are given within brackets):—(A) Suruchi I, Suruchi II, Suruchi III, Mahāpanāda (489 and 264); (B) Mahājanaka I, Ariṭṭhajanaka, Polajanaka, Mahājanaka II, Dīghāvu (539); (C) Sādhīna, Nārada (494); (D) Nimi, Kaḷāra (9, 408 and 541); (E) Makhādeva (9 and 541); and (F) Aṅgati (544).

4. For arguments, see Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 52.

Thus there were thirteen kings and they belonged to twelve generations (as in one case the ruler was succeeded by his brother and not son)[1].

Giving 19 years to each generation, as indicated just before, we can say that the twelve generations of post-Bhārata War kings of Videha ruled approximately for 225 years. Thus their period of rule extends from 950 B. C. to 725 B.C. This fits in well with the date of Nimi also, the penultimate sovereign of Videha, who is said to have adopted the faith of the Jainas.[2] Pārśva was probably the first historical Jina. He flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra whose date in our opinion[3] is 561 B.C.—490 B.C. Hence the date of Pārśva would be 840 B.C.—740 B.C. The Arhat Pārśva lived thirty years as a householder, eighty-three days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seventy years as a Kevalin, full seventy years as a Śramaṇa, and a hundred years on the whole.[4] Thus he became a Jina in 810 B. C. and lived up to 740 B. C. So Nimi of Videha could have accepted Jainism after 810 B. C. and not before that. This fixes the upper limit.

The lower limit is fixed by the fact that the *Jātakas* mention 12 generations of Videhan kings who ruled for about 225 years.

Hence in our opinion the end of the Janaka dynasty took place in about 725 B.C. Raychaudhuri's view[5] that "the fall of the Videhan monarchy" (*i.e.*, the death of Karāla Janaka) took place "probably early in the sixth century B. C." is unacceptable to us for the reasons stated above.

Thus, in our view, the foundation of the Vajjian Republic, which is believed to have synchronized with the fall of the Janaka dynasty of Videha, took place in about 725 B.C. This also gives adequate time to the Republic to organise itself on a sound footing so as to elicit praise from the Exalted One.

Having discussed the *kāla* (date), we may now proceed to take up the *pātra* (actor, character) and the *deśa* (territory) of the Republic.

1. Ariṭṭhajanaka and Polajanaka were brothers, both being sons of Mahājanaka I.
2. S. B E, 45, p. 87.
3. See *infra*.
4. S. B. E., 22, p. 274.
5. P. H. A. I., p. 95.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSTITUENT CLANS OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The form of government established in a good portion of North Bihar after the abolition of monarchy is called 'Saṅgha'[1] or 'Gaṇa'[2] in Buddhist literature. There was no king in this form of government; nay, every head of a family was a 'king' there.

What was the name of the Saṅgha or Gaṇa that ruled the Vaiśālī region in the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra (*i.e.*, in the sixth century B.C.)? The name appears to be Vṛiji (in Sanskrit) or Vajji[3] (in Pali). In the famous passage in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*,[4] the Buddha refers to the seven characteristics of the republican Vajjis (or Vajjians). Pāṇini[5] also refers to the Vṛijis. Kauṭilya,[6] however, distinguishes the Vṛijis from the Lichchhivikas.

What was the number of the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic? Here we are in the dark. The name of a judicial committee of the Republic—*Aṭṭhakulakā*[7] (*Ashṭakulakā*)—has been interpreted as giving the total number of the kulas or vaṁśas (clans) constituting the confederacy and it is said on that ground that the confederacy included eight confederate clans.[8] The argument has no legs to stand on, because the word *Aṭṭhakulaka* (*i.e.*, Council of Eight Kulakas) is a judicial word[9] and should not be interpreted in a literal manner as has so far

1. M., I, p. 231.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 78-81.
5. Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 2. 131.
6. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, XI. 1.
7. D. A., II, p. 519. There is no other evidence regarding the number of the clans (D. P. P. N., II, p. 813, n.).
8. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 512-513. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 25. Quoted by B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 12 and *Geographical Essays*, Vol. I, p. 17.
9. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (3rd ed., Bangalore, 1955), pp. 47, 101.

been done. There is no basis to think that the eight members of the judicial court represented the eight clans of the Republic. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that because of the preponderant position of the Lichchhavis in the Republic, they might have had more representatives in the said court, if at all the appointment was made on the basis of the clans for which no evidence exists.

Let us now try to know the names of the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic before we take up their details.

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī were the most important and influential clan of the Vajjian Republic. They occupied the capital which was the seat of monarchy in remoter past. Another important clan was the Jñātṛikas to which family Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara, belonged. The identity of the other clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*[1] the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and the Kauravas are associated with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same king and members of the same assembly. In order to know the real value of this passage, it is proper to give below the whole of it and the next one :—

"Here in the East, West, North, and South many men have been born according to their merit, as inhabitants of this our world, *viz.*, some as Āryas, some as non-Āryas, some in noble families, some in low families, some as big men, some as small men, some of good complexion, some of bad complexion, some as handsome men, some as ugly men. And of these men one man is king, who is strong like the great Himavat, Malaya, Mandara, and Mahendra mountains, ... who governs his kingdom in which all riots and mutinies have been suppressed.[2] And this king had an assembly of Ugras and sons of Ugras, Bhogas and sons of Bhogas, Aikshvākas and sons of Aikshvākas, Jñātṛis and sons of Jñātṛis, Kauravas and sons of Kauravas, warriors and sons of warriors, Brāhmaṇas and sons of

1. S. B. E., 45, p. 339 (*Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, II. 1. 13).

2. Here Hermann Jacobi, the translator, remarks in a footnote (S. B. E., 45, p. 339, n. 1) that "this is one of the *varṇaka* or typical descriptions which are so frequent in the canonical books. The full text is given in the *Aupapātika-Sūtra*, ed. Leumann, § 11, pp. 26 ff."

Brāhmaṇas, Lichchhavis and sons of Lichchhavis, commanders and sons of commanders, generals and sons of generals. (13)

"And of these men some one[1] is full of faith. Forsooth, the Śramaṇas or Brāhmaṇas made up their mind to go to him. Being professors of some religion (they thought) 'We shall teach him our religion'. (And they said): 'Know this, dear sir, that we explain and teach this religion well'. (14)"

The context makes it clear that the description of the king, who is an unknown figure without any geographical indication, is purely literary or canonical, and never of a historical character. Hence the view that the passage indicates the names of the "peoples of the confederacy"[2] is not tenable; because it is based on insufficient, unsatisfactory and rather unhistorical material. Who is that king who is strong like great mountains and has suppressed all riots and mutinies in his kingdom ? Why, when and where did this king hold an assembly of various clansmen and others (*e.g.*, Brāhmaṇas and warriors) together with their sons ? What was the relation between the king and the clans: were they under him or his neighbours ? It is difficult to answer these pertinent questions satisfactorily. The assembly, if any, was of a religious character which anyone interested in religious and spiritual discussions might attend, even sons of the clansmen and the Brāhmaṇas and others (whose ages are not indicated and) who might not become members of a political assembly so easily. The passage in question simply shows that the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and the Kauravas had some sort of connection (what sort of connection it was is not clear) with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis.

Although the above *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* passage does not prove anything with regard to the republican character of the tribes or clans mentioned therein or their probable membership of the Vajjian confederacy, it may be presumed, because of the association of the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis with the other clans, that these other clans, *viz.*, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and the Kauravas, lived in close proximity with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis. Thus they might have occupied parts of North Bihar or Tirhut, although they might not have separate repub-

1. "Apparently the king is meant" (Jacobi, S. B. E., 45, p. 339, n. 3).
2. P. H. A. I., p. 120 (by implication).

lican constitutions for themselves; at least we do not have any evidence for their separate republican constitutions. It may be added that because the Lichchhavis and the Videhas[1] were the principal clans of North Bihar possessing this region, these other clans must have been of much less importance in North Bihar.

It is convenient to place here the known history of the republican Lichchhavis and other clans that inhabited the Vajjian territory. It is these who were the founders and the preservers of the Vajjian Republic.

1. THE LICHCHHAVIS

The Lichchhavis were the most powerful of the clans that inhabited the Vajjian territory (*Lichchhavī Vajjiraṭṭhavāsī hi pasatthā*).[2] They are mentioned most in Buddhist literature among the Vajjian tribes. Their capital was at Vaiśālī. Another reason of their comparative importance was that it was they who re-emerged later as masters of Vaiśālī and Nepal.[3] This shows that "their power endured, whether independently or under the suzerainty of some greater power, for 800 years or more."[4] Thus "the race of the Lichchhavis and their organisation must have been of great vitality."[5]

The name of this powerful race has come to us in many different readings.[6] These readings are Lichchhavi,[7]

1. The Videhas of Mithilā, as we shall show later, had a monarchical constitution at least up to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda (*c.* 347 B C).

2. M.A., I, p. 394.

3. "The kings of Tibet and Ladak also trace their descent from the Lichchhavis" (A. G I, p 517).

4. John Houlton, *Bihar the Heart of India* (Orient Longmans Ltd., 1949), p. 100.

5. *Ibid.*

6. For a discussion see B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 2-9 and *Tribes in Ancient India* (Poona 1943), pp. 294-297.

7. The Pali Canon. Some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, *e.g.*, the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 55-56, 136). Some coins of Chandragupta I (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 254; V. A. Smith, J. R. A S, 1889, p. 63; A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 2-3, 6 and *Guptakālīna Mudrāen*, Patna, 1954, pp. 24-25; J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, London, 1914, p. xviii; the legend is given in the plural number). Some Gupta inscriptions, *e g*, the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II, the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 96 and the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta (J F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*,

Lechchhavi,[1] Lechchhaī,[2] Lechchhakī,[3] Lichchhivi,[4] Nichchhivi,[5] Lichhikhi,[6] and Lichhavi.[7] Of these the Lichchhavi seems to be most widely used in Pali literature and inscriptions and on coins, and also in non-Indian literature. The earliest mention in Sanskrit literature of this people is in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where they are called Lichchhivis. Medhātithi and Govindarāja, the two earliest commentators of the *Manu-Smṛiti*, read Lichchhivi and this reading tallies exactly with the name as given by Kauṭilya. Therefore, this form represents the earliest spelling of this word in the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It is only Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the Bengali commentator of the fifteenth century, who reads Nichchhivi in this verse of Manu (X. 22). This was due to a confusion between *La* and *Na* of the fifteenth century in the Bengali language.[8] Moreover, these letters are frequently inter-changed in our tongues as we know from our common experience.

Calcutta, 1888, pp. 8, 27, 43, 50 respectively; Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 278, 318), the Nālandā spurious copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta, the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta II or III and the Poona copper-plate inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā (Sircar, pp. 263, 321 and 412 respectively). Inscriptions of some Nepal kings (Fleet, Appendix IV, pp. 177-191; I. A., Vol. 9, pp. 169, 173, 180). Some Chinese translations (Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 71, 76; S Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, London 1884, pp xiii, lii, lv). Tibetan texts (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 97 ff; A. Schiefner, German translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, pp. 9, 41, 146).

1. Some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, *e.g.*, the *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 254 ff, 261 ff, 270, 271, 288, 290, 295, 297, 299, 300. Some Chinese translations (*e.g.*, T. Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 77).

2. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (S. B E., 45, p. 321, n. 3).

3. Jaina commentators (S. B. E., 22, p. 266, n. 1).

4. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1). Some Gupta inscriptions, *e.g*, the Bhitari stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta and the Gayā copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta, considered to be spurious (Fleet, pp. 53 and 256 respectively; Sircar, pp 313 and 265 respectively). Medhātithi and Govindarāja on Manu (X. 22) for which see Bühler, *The Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., 25 (Oxford, 1886), p. 406, n.

5. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa and Rāghavānanda on Manu (X. 22) for which see usual editions.

6. Nandanāchārya on Manu (X. 22) for which see Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 406, n.

7. The anonymous Kashmirian comment on Manu (X. 22) for which see Bühler, *op.cit.*, p. 406, n. Also S. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, London, 1884, pp. 67, n.; 70, n.; p. 81 gives Licchavas.

8. R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script* (Calcutta University, 1919), pp. 82, 108-109.

The origin of the Lichchhavis (or the Vajjians) has been a matter of great controversy. Western scholars (and an Indian writer) regarded them as of foreign extraction, though they were not unanimous with regard to their exact nationality. Thus the Lichchhavis have been represented as Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians by different authorities.

Samuel Beal[1] takes the Lichchhavis or Vajjis to be a branch of the Yue-chi forgetting that the latter came to India in the first century B. C. while the Lichchhavis were a highly civilized and prosperous people in the sixth century B. C.

In the opinion of J. F. Hewitt[2] there are "very strong indications that the Vajjians, who were certainly the earliest settlers in the country, were of Kolarian race, who had lived there long before the arrival of the Dravidians and Aryans". The learned writer ignores the existence of the pre-Vajjian Aryan dynasty of rulers at Vaiśālī.

V. A. Smith[3] found similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Lichchhavis in the practice of the exposure of the dead and also in judicial procedure. And hence he came to the conclusion that the Lichchhavis, the ruling tribe or clan in the Vṛiji country of which Vaiśālī was the capital, was really a Tibetan (or Mongolian) tribe which settled in the plains during the prehistoric times. This view was attacked by B. C. Law,[4] K. P. Jayaswal,[5] H. C. Raychaudhuri[6] and others. The arguments advanced by the Indian scholars were that (1) the customs of the disposal of the dead were prevalent among the Vedic Aryans from whom the Lichchhavis were descended; and (2) in the case of Tibet we have only three courts as against the seven tribunals of the

1. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II (London, 1884), pp. 66 ff, foot-notes only; *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, new edition (London, 1911), pp. xxii-xxiv. Hodgson also speaks of these people as Scyths (*Collected Essays*, Trübner's edition, p. 17): quoted in *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. xxiii.

2. J. F. Hewitt, 'Notes on the Early History of Northern India', J. R. A. S., 1888, pp. 356-359 (for arguments). *Cf.* Hewitt, J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 262 (for the union of the Lichchhavis with the "Kolarian aborigines of the country of Videha").

3. V. A. Smith, 'Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, pp. 233-236. Also a letter written by him dated the 25th November, 1917, to K. P. Jayaswal (relevant portion quoted in *Hindu Polity*, p. 170).

4. *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 29-32.

5. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 174-177.

6. P. H. A. I., p. 122, n. 2.

Lichchhavis; further, we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana[1] suggested a Persian origin for the Lichchhavis holding that the name Lichchhavi (Nichchhibi of Manu, X. 22) was derived from the Persian city of Nisibis. There is very little in Vidyabhusana's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nichchhivi and Nisibis. Inscriptions of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B. C. The Lichchhavi people were more interested in Yaksha Chaityas and the teaching of Mahāvīra and the Buddha than in the deities and prophets of Iran.[2]

The Lichchhavis have been invariably represented as Kshatriyas in ancient Indian literature. As the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*[3] informs us, they claimed a share of the remnants of the Buddha's body on the ground that they were Kshatriyas like the Buddha himself: "The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One." Similar claims based on the same argument were put forth also by Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Mallas of Pāvā and the Moriyas of Pippalivana,[4] while the Śākyas of Kapilavastu[5] claimed him as their very kin. In the introduction to the *Sigāla-Jātaka*[6] we read of a Lichchhavi girl, the daughter of a Kshatriya and high-born. A Lichchhavi named Mahāli says, "I am a Khattiya, so is the Buddha. If his knowledge increases and he becomes all-knowing, why should it not happen to me ?"[7] In the Jaina *Kalpa-Sūtra* Triśalā, sister to Cheṭaka, the Lichchhavi leader of Vaiśālī, is styled Kshatriyāṇī.[8]

1. *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 78-80. Also *cf.* Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. xxii-xxiv and Spooner, A. S. I. A. R. for 1913-14, pp. 118-120, 149 (plate XLIX, seal no. 607), 121.
2. P. H. A. I., p. 122, n. 3.
3. *Dialogues*, II, p. 187.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-189.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.
6. Cowell : *Jātaka* No. 152, Vol. II, p. 4.
7. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, P. T. S., Part I, p. 312.
8. S. B. E., 22, pp. 191, 192, 226-230, 238-240, 246, 247, 250. Kshatriyāṇī was not the part of her name (*ibid.*, p. 193).

The Lichchhavis enjoyed great prestige, which is not usually accorded to foreigners. The Buddha[1] compared them with the Tāvatiṁsa gods.[2] That they were looked upon as persons of very high pedigree appears also from a passage in a work of the Jaina sacred literature, the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (I. 13. 10), where we read: "A Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Lichchhavi, who enters the order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra."[3] In the time of the *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1) of Kauṭilya also the Lichchhavis (Lichchhivikas) and the Vṛijis (Vṛijikas) were of equal rank and position with the great Kshatriya peoples of Northern India, *viz.*, the Madras (Madrakas)[4] in the west, the Kuru-Pañchālas[5] in the central region and the Mallas (Mallakas)[6] in the east.

Accounts of the origin of the Lichchhavis are furnished in Buddhaghosha's *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*[7] and the *Pujāvaliya*,[8] a Ceylonese Buddhist work. These stories are entirely mythical but show at least that the Lichchhavis were regarded as Kshatriyas.[9]

In the Nepal Vaṁśāvalī the Lichchhavis have been allotted to the Sūryavaṁśa or solar race of the Kshatriyas.[10] This is quite in agreement with the evidence from the Buddhist sources and the Jaina records that they were Vāsishṭhas by gotra, for we know from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*[11] that the gotra

1. *Dial.*, II, p. 103. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 262.

2. The Tāvatiṁsa-devā are the gods in heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon (*Dial.*, II, p. 103, n. 2) Had the Lichchhavis been kinsmen of snub-nosed peoples who lived beyond the Himālayas, the writers of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* and the *Mahāvastu* would not have instituted this comparison.

3. S. B. E., 45, p. 321.

4. The Madras and the Vrijis are grouped together in a *sūtra* (IV 2. 131) by Pāṇini also, who flourished earlier

5. The Kauravas are associated with the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly (S. B. E., 45, p. 339).

6. For the affinity of the Lichchhavis with the Mallas and the Śākyas see Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 16-17

7. Edited by H Smith, P. T. S, pp. 158-160. For a summary of the account see *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 17-21.

8. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd edition, 1880, pp. 242-243.

9. For some more arguments on the Indian origin of the Lichchhavis not incorporated here for want of space see *Hindu Polity*, pp. 174-177 and P. H. A. I., p. 123. Also *cf.* S. C. Sarkar, *Homage*, p. 64 (Lichchhai = Ṛiksha) and p. 66, n. 2.

10. I. A., 37, p. 79. *Cf.* I.A., 9, p. 180.

11. *Ait.Br.*, VII. 25 (Keith, Eng. tr., p. 313; Haug, tr., p. 478).

or pravara of a Kshatriya is the same as that of his Purohita or family priest, who makes him perform the sacrifices.[1] The Vāsishṭha gotra was therefore the gotra of their family priest, and we know that the Vāsishṭhas were the family priests of the kings of the solar race, especially of the Ikshvākus.

Manu (X. 22) concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis are the Rājanyas or Kshatriyas, though of the Vrātya variety, who are not very particular about initiation and similar other ceremonies and practices required to be performed by the regulations of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas.[2]

The inter-relation between the Lichchhavis and the Vṛijis (or Vṛijikas) is not quite clear. At some places these terms appear to be inter-changeable.[3] And this is not improbable, because although the Lichchhavis were the most prominent constituent of the Republic, it was generally called the Saṅgha or Gana of the Vajjis.[4] The Lichchhavis would not possibly have allowed this name, had they not themselves been Vajjians. In one passage[5] the Lichchhavi, Mahānāma, seeing that a band of young Lichchhavis who had been out hunting were gathered round the Buddha, is represented as saying, "They (*i.e.*, these Lichchhavis) will become Vajjians, they will become Vajjians (*Bhavissanti Vajjī bhavissanti Vajjī*) !" This probably only means that there was great hope of these Lichchhavi young men becoming true Vajjians, practising the seven conditions of welfare taught by the Buddha, conditions which ensured their prosperity, and leading a more cultured life. Thus the Vajji (Vajjian) appears to be a more dignified term.[6] It might have originally been given to the tribe which inhabited

1. For this rule see *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, I. 3. 3; XII. 15. 4. Also see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 12.

2. Also see Manu, X. 20 (definition of Vrātya), II. 38-39 (upper limit of the initiation).

3. By combining A., IV, pp. 16-27 (*Vajji-Varga*) and *Dial.*, II, p. 80; also the legendary story given by Buddhaghosha of the origin of the Lichchhavis (*Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, ed. H. Smith, P. T. S., pp. 158-160: *Kshatriya Clans*, pp 20-21). The writer of D. P. P. N. (Vol. II, pp. 814, 779) also seems to hold the same view, though he does not give suitable examples as we have done in this foot-note.

4. M., I, p. 231 (*Vajjīnaṁ*).

5. A., III, p. 76 = *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, III, p. 62.

6. Was it for this reason that Pāṇini (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 2. 131) preferred the term Vṛiji to Lichchhavi ?

what is known as Vajjiraṭṭha (Vṛiji-rāshṭra), *i.e.*, the Vajjian country, in Buddhist literature. Later a separation seems to have taken place among the Vajjis or Lichchhavis, because the *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1) of Kauṭilya mentions the Lichchhivika and the Vṛijika[1] (*v.l.* Vrajika) as two distinct republics belonging to the class whose consuls bore the title of 'Rājā' or 'King.'

We now take up the details of the clans other than the Lichchhavi-Vṛiji one. Of these we obviously regard the clan of Mahāvīra as more important than the rest.

2. THE JÑĀTṚIKAS

The Jñātṛikas, who also were Kshatriyas,[2] were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the Jina. Siddhārtha's wife was Triśalā, the sister of Cheṭaka, the Lichchhavi leader of Vaiśālī. The principal seats of the Jñātṛikas were Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura (or Kuṇḍagrāma) and Kollāga, suburbs of Vaiśālī.

The Jñātṛikas were of Kaśyapa gotra.[3]

Buddhist literature also knows this clan because it calls Mahāvīra Nātaputta and Nāṭaputta.[4]

The religion of Pārśvanātha seems to have influenced his tribe early because the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*[5] states that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the Śramaṇas.

The Jñātṛikas could not have been a separate republic, because their settlement was quite close to Vaiśālī, probably a part of the central capital. We may, however, presume that they might have co-operated with the Lichchhavis in the emergence of the Vajjian Republic.

Rahula Sankrityayana[6] suggests that the present Jethariyā

1. Some time ago I proposed the name Vṛijikā or Vajjikā for the dialect spoken at present in the Muzaffarpur District after the glorious republican tribe of the Vṛijis inhabiting the ancient Vajji-raṭṭha. This name is gradually gaining currency.

2. S. B. E., 22, pp. 254-255.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 255.

4. Many examples As Nāṭaputta is one of the epithets of Mahāvīra (*e.g.*, A., I, p. 220; IV, pp. 180 ff, 429), we venture to suggest that the Naṭa of Manu (X. 22), a Vrātya Rājanya clan like the Lichchhavi and the Malla, is Nāṭa, *i.e.*, Jñātṛi, another republican tribe of the Sarayū-Gaṇḍaka Valley.

5. S. B. E., 22, p 194.

6. *Buddhacharyā* (in Hindi), pp. 104, n. 1; 493, n. 2. *Purātattvanibandhāvalī* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 107-114, also p. 12, n. 2.

Brāhmaṇa (a subdivision of the Bhūmihāra Brāhmaṇa community), found in a large number in the Vaiśālī area and having Kāśyapa as his gotra, is the modern representative of the Jñātṛis (Jñātṛi=Jñātara=Jatara=Jathara=Jathariyā=Jethariyā).[1] We, however, do not accept this because the Jethariyā community came to the Muzaffarpur district in the Muslim period, has its ancestral village at Jethar (Jayasthala) Dih in the Saran district and was known as a subdivision of 'Pachhimā Brāhmaṇa' till a few decades ago. Moreover, Jñātṛi =Jethariyā is not possible from a philological point of view.

3. THE UGRAS

The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[2] refers to the close connection of the Ugras with Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛijian Republic. They are also associated with Hatthigāma.[3] A city of the Ugras is mentioned in the *Dhammapada Commentary*.[4] If the word *Ugra* in *Ugraputra* of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-Upanishad* (III. 8.2) is a proper name, we may say that the Ugras were a militant race found in Kāśī and Videha states also. Buddhist literature mentions a "city of the Ugga" which was visited by the Buddha who converted a great number of the Ugga people in it. From the different versions of the story[5] it becomes very difficult to identify this Ugra city which might be Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) or Sāketa or Champā.[6] One Polāsapura situated somewhere between Kāmpilyanagara and Vāṇijyagrāma is mentioned in the *Uvāsagadasāo*[7] where many people of the Ugga and Bhoga tribes are said to have entered into the monastic state. This place might be either in Pañchāla or in Kosala or in the Vajji country. Our only aim in mentioning these facts is that the Ugras were not

1 *Purātattva-nibandhāvalī*, p. 108; *Buddhacharyā*, p. 493, n. 2. Sankrityayana says that this identification was first suggested by K. P. Jayaswal and that he has only added some arguments (*Purātattva-nibandhāvalī*, p. 108).

2. A., I, p. 22; III, pp. 49 ff, 451; IV, pp. 208-212.

3. A., IV, pp. 212-216.

4. H. O. S, Vol 30, p. 184.

5. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 70, 71. Von Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, translated by Ralston, No VII, p. 110. Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 257-259. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226-234.

6 See Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 55-57 for an analysis of the different versions.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 139. *Cf. Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 409, 412.

limited to one town or state: they seem to have occupied a good part of the Gangetic Valley.

That the Ugras, like the Lichchhavis, were looked upon as persons of very high pedigree appears from a passage in a work of the Jaina sacred literature, the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (I. 13. 10),[1] where we read: "A Brāhmana or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Lichchhavi, who enters the order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra."[2] They were, according to the Jainas, descendants of those whom Ṛishabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, appointed to the office of Kotwals or prefects of towns.[3]

The *Lalitavistara*,[4] a Buddhist work, mentions the script of the Ugras, being one of the 64 scripts intended to be taught to boy Gautama (Bodhisattva) by the tutor Viśvāmitra. Another such script mentioned, in which we may be interested here, is that of Pūrva-Videha.

According to Manu, X. 9, 49, the Ugras were a mixed caste, sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother (so also in the *Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi*, v. 896), who lived by catching and killing animals living in holes. There is a Rajput clan (gotra) called 'Uga' still existing in the Mallani area on the borders of Marwar and Sind.[5] In Bengal there is a class of people (mostly agriculturists) commonly called 'Āgurī', who claim to be Ugra Kshatriyas and fall into two divisions, popularly called 'Jānā' and 'Sūt'[6]. Hoernle[7] throws out the suggestion that the Ugga may be identical with the Tartar tribe of the Ung (Ungkut) or Uighur (Yue-chi), a portion of which had settled in Tibet, and thence may have descended to settlements in India.[8] In view of the high pedigree of the Ugras this view does not appear to be acceptable.

1. S. B. E., 45, p. 321.
2. *Cf. Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, S. B. E, 45, p. 71.
3. S. B E., 45, p. 71, n. 2. Compare Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasão*, II, Appendix, p. 58 and Jacobi's edition of the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 103, note on § 18.
4. *Lalitavistara*, English translation, p. 183.
5. See the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 275; also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 46.
6. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 140. For 'Sūt' as a mixed caste *cf.* Manu, X. 11, 17 and *Abhidhāna-Chintāmani*, v. 896.
7. *Uvāsagadasão*, II, Appendix, p. 57.
8. See on these tribes Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. II, p. 62; Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, pp. 183, 285.

4. THE BHOGAS

The Bhogas, too, like the Ugras, are said to be Kshatriyas in Jaina literature. They were descendants from those whom Ṛishabha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, acknowledged as persons deserving of honour.[1] The *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Suttanta*[2] mentions Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma and Bhoganagara on the way from Vaiśālī to Pāvā. As the Bhogas are associated with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly[3], this Bhoganagara seems to be in the Vajjian territory and not outside it. It may be also worth noting that in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*[4] there is mention of a place called Bhoga-nagara, or 'City of the Bhogas', which from the context would appear to have been situated "in the country of the Mallas" in Hoernle's opinion.[5] Among the people who entered into the Jaina monastic state were many people of the Ugga and Bhoga tribes of Polāsapura[6] situated somewhere between Kāmpilyanagara and Vāṇijyagrāma. Thus the Bhoga people seem to have occupied several towns in the Gangetic Valley.[7]

Regarding the Bhogas Hoernle[8] was not able to obtain any information save the solitary notice in Sherring[9] of a class of Brāhmaṇas in the Punjab, called 'Bhog', about whom the Jainas of these parts know nothing.

5. THE AIKSHVĀKAS

The presence of the Aikshvākas (Ikshvakuids) as a tribe inhabiting the Vṛiji territory, which had its metropolis at Vaiśālī, is vaguely suggested by the Jaina text *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*.[10]

1. S. B. E., 45, p. 71, n. 2. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 58.
2. D., II, pp. 122-126. *Cf.* also *Sutta-Nipāta*, 194.
3. S. B. E, 45, p. 339.
4. *Life of the Buddha*, p. 132.
5. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 57.
6. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139.
7. The *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 87. 44) refers to the Nāgas who were *Vaiśāleyāḥ Bhoginaḥ*. Did these Bhogin Nāgas of Vaiśālī have something to do with the Bhogas of Bhoganagara who formed part of the Vajjian Republic with its capital at Vaiśālī?
8. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 140, n.
9. *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. xxiv.
10. S. B. E., 45, p. 339.

Who were these Aikshvākas ?

Three possibilities suggest themselves to us:—

(1) The descendants of Sumati, the last known king of Vaiśālī, might have continued. They were descended from Nābhānedishṭha, a brother of Ikshvāku. Moreover, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] knows Viśāla and his successors to be descended from Ikshvāku and the *Mahābhārata*[2] also introduces a king named Ikshvāku in the Vaisalian king-list supplied by it.

(2) The house of Videha was descended from Ikshvāku's son Nimi. Thus a section of the Vaidehas might have preferred to go by the name of Aikshvākas and not Vaidehas. And they might have settled in the Vajji country.

(3) Possibly a section of the Aikshvākas of Ayodhyā[3] might have emigrated to and settled in any part of the Vajjian country.

6. THE KAURAVAS

The association of a body of the Kauravas with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. We offer three suggestions in this regard:—

(1) It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that Pāṇḍu went to Mithilā and conquered the Videha country[4] and that Bhīma defeated the Gaṇḍaka people[5] and the Vaidehaka king 'Janaka'[6] and making Videha as a base of operations he furthered his conquests;[7] he also defeated the king of Kauśikī-kachchha.[8] It appears that some Kaurava prince was imposed on this eastern territory or a part of it and/or some Kaurava people began to inhabit the area from that time. Thus later, when the Vajjian Republic was formed, they inevitably formed part of it.

(2) When Hastināpura was abandoned by the Kauravas and Nichakshu, their royal leader, came to and established Kauśāmbī on the Yamunā in the Vatsa country, probably

1. *Rām*, I. 47. 11-12, 18.
2. *Mbh*, XIV. 4. 3.
3. This is not quite improbable. *Cf.* the somewhat similar fate of the Kauravas due to several factors.
4. *Mbh*, I. 113. 28.
5. *Mbh*, II. 29. 4, 30. 13 (Varmakas and Śarmakas).
6. *Mbh*, II. 29 4 (Videhas), 30 13 ('Janaka').
7. *Mbh*, II 30. 15.
8. *Mbh*, II. 30. 22.

some Kauravas following the track of the Ganges came to the Vaiśālī country and settled here.

(3) Kuru Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa, had begun to settle in the capital of Videha long before the rise of Buddhism.[1]

WERE THE VIDEHAS OF MITHILĀ PART OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC ?

The view so far held about the Videhan state during the period of the Vajjian Republic is that after the death of Karāla Janaka it turned into a republic and became a component part of the Vajjian Confederation which was later destroyed by King Ajātaśatru of Magadha and that the Videhas, who were an important republican clan of the Buddha's time, were one of the eight constituent clans of the Vajjian Confederacy. This view was accepted by later authorities without any scrutiny with the result that now-a-days this is universally accepted.

We have examined the arguments of the previous writers closely and have come to the conclusion that Videha continued to be a monarchy even after the death of Karāla Janaka and did not form part of the Vajjian Confederacy, it was conquered by Mahāpadma Nanda and it is only later that we find it in the time of Patañjali as a republic.

Before advancing our own reasons we propose to examine the argument of the previous writers who have regarded Videha to be a republic in the sixth century B.C.

The two parts of the argument are as follows:—

(a) "Hwen Thsang gives the name of the country[2] in its Sanskrit form as Fo-li-shi, or Vriji; but it is also stated that the people of the north called the country San-fa-shi, or Samvaji,[3] which is the Pali form of Samvriji, or the "United Vrijis". From this name, I infer that the Vrijis were a large tribe which was divided into several branches, namely, the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, the Vaidehis of Mithila, the Tira-bhuktis of Tirhut,[4] *etc.* Either of these divisions separately might

1. H. C. Raychaudhuri, P. H. A. I., p. 120, n. 3.
2. The Darbhanga-East Nepalese Terai Country.
3. 'Hiouen Thsang', II. 402; note by M. Stanislas Julien. This reference is furnished by Cunningham.
4. "In the *Trikandasesha* the names of Lichhavi, Vaideha, and Tirabhukti are given as synonymous" (A. G. I., p. 509).

therefore be called Vrijis, or any two together might be called Vrijis, as well as Samvrijis, or the "United Vrijis."[1]

(b) "The exact number of their clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were arraigned before the atthakulaka or "eight clans", which would appear to have been a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe. Hwen Thsang mentions that the people of the north called them San-fa-shi, or Samvajji, that is, the "United Vajjis"..... The name of Sam-Vriji, or the "United Vrijis", was therefore a descriptive title of the whole nation of the eight clans, who, as the Buddha remarked, were accustomed to hold frequent meetings, to act in concert, and to uphold the ancient Wajjian institutions."[2]

Thus the whole argument rests on two words, *viz.*, San-fa-shi and Aṭṭhakulaka. The first word is not found in the account of Hiuen Tsiang, although Cunningham states to the contrary. It is in a note added to the text.[3] Even if we suppose that this word is used by Hiuen Tsiang, it is not of much value, because it is a very late piece of evidence from a foreigner and refers to a name prevalent among the "northern people" and not in India. We shall show later how the judicial word Aṭṭhakulaka has nothing to do with the eight clans. Thus the whole edifice of the United Vajjis consisting of eight clans including the Videhas falls to the ground. Moreover, nowhere is this stated that the Videhas were a republican clan and that they were one of the eight clans of the Vajjian Saṅgha. It was only a presumption of Cunningham, never examined seriously by anyone,[4] and accepted by all[5] without any question.

1. Cunningham, A. G. I, p. 510.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 512, 513.
3. Watters, II, p. 81 Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, p. 77, n. 99 ("Northern people call this San-fa-shi-Samvaji. It is in Northern India.—*Ch. Ed.*").

4. Not even by T. W. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 22, 25-26) who says—"The Vajjians included eight confederate clans, of whom the Lichchhavis and the Videhans were the most important" (*ibid.*, pp. 25-26), but furnishes no evidence for this statement

5. *E g*, S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), p. 34; B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India* (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 160-161; H C. Raychaudhuri, P. H. A. I. (first pub 1923, now in 6th ed), pp. 83, 95, 118, 121-122 (also *Political History of India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra*, J D.L., Vol. 9, Calcutta, 1923, p. 61); K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (first published in 1924, now in 3rd ed.), pp. 40, 42, 47, 50; G. P. Malalasekera, D. P. P. N , II (London, 1938), pp. 813, 814, 879.

It appears the modern historians were misled not only by (1) the word San-fa-shi or San-fa-chih by which name the northern people called the inhabitants of the Darbhanga-East Nepalese Terai area in the seventh century A.D., (2) the term Aṭṭhakulaka used for a judicial committtee in the fifth century A.D. and misinterpreted for aṭṭhakula, *i.e.*, eight clans and (3) the great authority of Cunningham and Rhys Davids, but by certain other points as well:—

(1) The Lichchhavis once had formed a federation with their western republican neighbours, the Mallas, according to a Jaina work.[1] Thus it was easy to presume that they had also formed a federation with their eastern neighbours, the Videhas, who were wrongly taken to be republicans.[2]

(2) In a passage of the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*[3] as many as six clans (*viz.*, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas, the Jñātṛis, the Kauravas and the Lichchhavis) are mentioned as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly. Hence it might have been thought that these were the six out of the eight clans of the Vajjian (*i.e.*, Lichchhavi-Videhan) Confederacy.[4]

(3) In the *Trikāṇḍaśesha* the names of Lichchhavi, Vaideha and Tīrabhukti are given as synonymous.[5] Thus the republican character of the Lichchhavis was probably transferred to the Videhan people as well.

(4) The Videhas are treated as a republic by Patañjali (IV. 1. 168).[6] Hence in the time of the Buddha also they were taken to have been republicans.[7]

(5) The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[8] furnishes a list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas that flourished together during a period posterior to Karāla Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala.[9] This list includes Vajji, but Videha does not find mention here presumably due to its lack of importance at the time. But it was easy to think that the omission of Videha in the list was probably due to its inclusion in Vajji.

1. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128 (S B E., 22, p. 266).
2. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 47-48.
3. S. B. E., 45, p. 339.
4. P. H. A. I., pp. 118, 120.
5. A. G. I, p. 509.
6. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 50, 29 n., 30 n.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
8. A., I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
9. P. H. A. I., p. 95.

(6) Some names of the kings of Mithilā, *e. g.*, Sumitra and Virudhaka,[1] were available for the sixth century B. C. But they were ignored and misinterpreted.[2] This was facilitated by the fact that according to the *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1) of Kauṭilya the rulers of the Lichchhavika and the Vrijika[3] republics bore the title of 'Rājā' or king.

Now we place our own arguments for regarding the Videhan State as a monarchy during the period under review:—

While nowhere is this stated that Videha was a republic in the age of the Buddha, we come across the names of some kings of Videha in the Buddhist literature who apparently belonged to the sixth century B C. or later (but not earlier than Karāla Janaka on any account).

The *Dīpavaṁsa* gives a legendary account of kings of some Indian States but it may contain some historical truth. It says that Kalārajanaka's son was Samaṅkara who was followed by king Asoka, an inaugurated prince.[4] Earlier, it informs us that the last of the kings (of Champānagara) was Nāgadeva, the lord of the earth; his sons and grandsons, twenty-five princes, governed their great kingdom in the town of Mithilānagara;[5] the last of these kings was valiant Buddhadatta; his sons and grandsons, twenty-five princes, governed their kingdom in Rājagaha, best of the towns.[6] Thus the *Dīpavaṁsa* seems to preserve the following traditions about Videha:—(i) that there were kings at Mithilānagara even after Kalārajanaka; (ii) that twenty-five kings or so ruled at Mithilānagara, the last of them being valiant Buddhadatta[7]; and (iii) that the kingdom passed on to the master of Rājagṛiha (-Pāṭaliputra), *i e.*, Magadha.

1. See *infra* (p 121) for references

2. For example, *cf.* "Sumitra lived at a very remote period of antiquity. His name here is not intended to be that of a king living at the time of Buddha's birth" (*Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 54, n. 27).

3. Jayaswal (*op cit*, p. 49) actually identifies the Vṛijikas of the *Arthaśāstra* passage with the Videhas.

4. *Dīpavaṁsa*, III. 37 (Eng. tr., p 132)

5. *Ibid*, III. 29 (Eng. tr, p. 131)

6. *Ibid*, III. 30

7. The name indicates that this king flourished after the Buddha which supports our point. The adjective 'valiant' may probably refer to the fierce struggle between him and the king of Magadha (*i.e.*, Mahāpadma Nanda according to the Puranic sources).

Sometimes we meet specific royal names of Mithilā like Aṅgati, Sumitra and Virudhaka.

The earlier teacher of Aṅgati[1] was Guṇa Kassapa whose doctrines bear a striking resemblance with those of the famous Purāṇa Kassapa, the elder contemporary of the Buddha, and of Maskarin Gosāla, another contemporary of the Śākya sage. Hence Mehta[2] places him "somewhere in the earlier part of the 6th century B.C."

The *Lalitavistara*[3] gives an interesting account of king Sumitra of "the very charming city of Mithilā": "The king has a mighty army of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers; he is rich in gold both in ingots and in coins, precious stones, pearls, lapis-lazuli, conch-shells (*śaṅkha*), marbles, corals, silver, native and wrought, and all other objects of wealth; he himself is of undaunted might and vigour, well-allied and virtuous". But his weak points are also stated: "The king, it is true, is very old, unable to govern well his kingdom, and the parent of many children". Although the description is conventional, the existence of a ruling monarch at that time (579 B.C., *i.e.*, twelve years before the birth of Bodhisattva) cannot be denied, especially when republican Vaiśālī is also described there[4] as a contrast.

A minister of King Virudhaka of Videha, named Sakala, was compelled to flee to Vaiśālī from his own country owing to the jealousy of the other ministers. There he soon became a prominent citizen. Shortly afterwards he was elected Nāyaka.[5]

Another verison of the story is available in the *Gilgit Manuscripts*[6] where Khaṇḍa is the prime minister of an unnamed king of Videha ('Videharāja'). He was the head of 500 ministers (amātyas). Other ministers, becoming jealous, conspired to destroy him. They approached the king and

1. *Jātaka* No. 544, Vol. VI.
2. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 52; also see p. 336.
3. *Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 40.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39, esp. p. 39.
5. Rockhill, p 63. Quoted by Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 161.
6. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 3-5, esp. p. 5, where a contrast is made between monarchies (like Videha, Śrāvastī, Rājagṛiha and others) and republics (like Vaiśālī); also see R. C. Majumdar, 'Historical Materials in Gilgit Manuscripts', *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, p. 134.

poisoned his ears by representing that "Khaṇḍa is the real king and may, if he so desires, seize the throne." The king gradually grew suspicious and looked for an opportunity to bring about his downfall. Khaṇḍa, coming to know of this, became afraid and thought thus, "Where shall I go? If I go to Śrāvastī, it is under a king, and so there would be the same troubles. So would be the case in Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛiha and Champā which are all subject to the authority of one person (*ekādhīna*). Vaiśālī is under a *gana* (*gaṇādhīna*). What is desired by ten is disliked by twenty. So by all means I must go to Vaiśālī." Consequently he went to Vaiśālī where he was cordially received by the republican Lichchhavis. The *Gilgit Manuscripts* passage leaves no doubt that in the sixth century B.C. Videha was a monarchy[1] like Kosala and Magadha and unlike Vaiśālī.

Welcome light on this rather complicated problem is thrown by the *Purāṇas* which say that between the compilation of the *Purāṇas* and the annihilation of Kshatriya states in India by Mahāpadma Nanda there reigned among others 28 Maithilas[2] (*i.e.*, 28 kings of Mithilā). Thus the *Purānas* are of opinion that monarchy continued at Mithilā—a point which is corroborated by the Buddhist literature also, as shown above. If so, Ajātaśatru, who destroyed the Vajjian Republic, did not extirpate Mithilā which continued till the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. Had Mithilā or Videha been a constituent element of the Vajjian Confederacy, the destruction of the Confederacy would have naturally meant the end of Mithilā as well. But we do not find Mithilā or Videha as part of the empire of Magadha in Ajātaśatru's time[3] even after the destruction of the Vajjian Republic. Evidently the destruction of the Videhan kingdom was the work of a later king of Magadha (*i.e.*, Mahāpadma Nanda).

Thus our conclusion is that the Videhas of Mithilā did not form part of the Vajjian Republic.

1. R. C. Majumdar (*op cit*, p. 141) noticed it, though he did not propound any theory about it: "The mention of Videha as a kingdom is important. Rhys Davids includes Videha among the tribal republics."

2. A I. H. T., pp. 180, 181 D K A, pp. 24, 69. *Mat*, 272. 16. *Vā*, 98 318. *Bd*, III. 74. 137.

3. P. H. A. I, p. 214, n 2. "According to the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* (Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Sastri, pp. 603 ff) the dominions of Ajātaśatru embraced, besides Magadha, Aṅga, Vārānasī (Banaras), and Vaiśālī in the north". The exclusion of Mithilā (Videha) from this list is significant.

Vijayendra Suri has drawn our attention to an important point with regard to the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic. He thinks that there were only six families (kulas) among the Āryas[1] and in support of his view he quotes two Jaina sources, *viz.*, *Prajñāpanā-Sūtra* (with commentary), folio 56a, and *Sthānāṅga-Sūtra* (with commentary), folio 358a (*sūtra* 479), both of which state that there were six Ārya kulas, namely, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Rājanyas, the Aikshvākus, the Jñātṛis and the Kauravas. Suri equates the Jñātṛis with the Lichchhavis or the Vaiśālikas to which we do not agree. In our view it is the Rājanyas who are to be equated with the Lichchhavis. On this we are supported by the *Manu-Smṛiti* and the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*. The former concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis are the Rājanyas or Kshatriyas though of the Vrātya variety.[2] The famous passage from the latter analysed above[3] provides us with the names of the following clans in this order—the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas, the Jñātṛis,[4] the Kauravas, and the Lichchhavis. By comparing the two lists given by the Jaina sources (quoted by Suri) and by the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* we come to the irresistible conclusion that the Rājanyas of the first list are identical with the Lichchhavis of the second list, all other names being common to both.

These six clans may be treated as inhabiting the Vajjian territory.

1. See his *Vaiśālī*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Bombay, 1957), p. 26; also his *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1960), p. 68.

2. See *supra*, p. 111; also p. 112, n. 4.

3. See *supra*, pp. 104-105.

4. The Jñātṛis are taken to be a section of the dynasty of Ṛishabha and Ikshvāku by some Jaina commentators for which see Vijayendra Suri's *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., p. 50 and his *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, p. 90.

CHAPTER XII

THE VAJJIAN TERRITORY AND ITS CAPITAL

I

"The Vajji (Vṛiji) territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west the river Gandak possibly separated it from the Mallas and perhaps also the Kosalas. Eastwards it may have approached the forests that skirted the river Kosi and the Mahānandā."[1] "The Lichchhavi territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepal where we find them in the seventh century A.D."[2]

This definition of the extent of the Vajjian territory by H. C. Raychaudhuri seems to be correct except that the eastern boundary does not appear to be acceptable because, as we have shown above, Videha was distinct from the republican Vajjian state and was a monarchy at that time. It may, however, be presumed that the Vajjian Republic was stronger than the Videhan kingdom, because while the former is one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas according to the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*,[3] the latter is not included in that list. If so, the Vajjian territory might have extended much farther towards the east; but we cannot say with exactness the eastern extent.

There is no doubt that the Champaran district was included in the Vajjian Republic. Firstly, the place, where the Lichchhavis, desiring to follow the Buddha to the scene of his nirvāṇa, were forbidden to do so,[4] has been identified by Cunningham[5] with Kesariya in this district situated about 30 miles north-west of Basarh, the site of old Vaiśālī. Bloch[6] has accepted this identification. Secondly, the chetiyāni

1. P. H A I, p. 118.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
3. A., I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260
4. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. lii (account of Fahien); Vol. II, pp. 73-74 (account of Hiuen Tsiang).
5. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XVI, pp. 16-17.
6. A. S. I. A. R., 1903-04, p. 82.

of the Vajjis referred to by the Buddha[1] must be the earthen stūpas or chaityas of Navandgarh[2] (Lauriya-Nandangarh) and other mounds in the Champaran district; because in the Muzaffarpur district such mounds are not so numerous and even those which are extant[3] are not so ancient; and from the nature of the statement made by the Buddha, these mounds must be nearer Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vajjis. Moreover, it has been suggested[4] that in the Champaran district Kesariya, Motihari, Navandgarh (Lauriya-Nandangarh) and Simrun (Simraon) were possibly the capitals of the different clans of the Vṛijis.

Was Nepal included in the Vajjian Republic ? Although a definite reply to this question is not possible, we are inclined to hold an affirmative view on the following grounds :—

(1) The Tharus, who inhabit a very long strip of land in the sub-Himalayan Terai from Kumaon to Jalpaiguri up to the present day, call the villages inhabited by non-Tharus Baji villages and the inhabitants irrespective of their caste, religion or race, Bajis.[5] The term appears to be a Tharu corruption of Sanskrit Vṛiji or Pali Vajji. It has no other meaning in the language of the Tharus or the other dialects of the area. This must be a "survival of an old name when its meaning is forgotten."[6]

(2) There was geographical contiguity between North Bihar and Nepal. For this reason the latter acted as the natural field for the expansion of the brave and warlike Lichchhavis. They seem to have utilised the Nepal timber in constructing their wooden houses, as no Vajjian houses have survived.

(3) It was probably due to previous association that when pressed by circumstances the Lichchhavis (or at least some of them) left Vaiśālī and took refuge in Nepal where they ruled for a long period.

1. *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, p. 80).
2. Suggested by Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 515,516.
3. *E.g.*, a large ruined fort at Katra which is said to be "the largest mound near Muzaffarpur" (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XVI, p. 35).
4. A. G. I., pp. 513-514. Also see *Champaran District Gazetteer*, p. 16.
5. H. Panday, J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 261.
6. *Ibid.*

(4) A Kirāta dynasty is said to have ruled over Nepal in the beginning. According to K. P. Jayaswal[1] the beginning is dated in 600 B.C. or 590 B.C. This dynasty might have been subordinate to the Vajjis in the beginning.

The somewhat wide extent of the Vajjian territory is easily understood if we remember that (a) the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī were regarded on par with Prasenajit of Kosala and Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha,[2] (b) the Magadhan state being constantly harassed by the Vajjians considered it advisable to erect a fort at Pāṭaligrāma to check the enemies[3], and (c) Ajātaśatru had to make a firm determination to destroy the Vajjians for which he consulted no less a personage than the Buddha.[4] Ajātaśatru had to fight a formidable enemy indeed.

II

The identification of Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vajjian territory, had long been a point of discussion among scholars. General Cunningham, with his immense knowledge of the country and of the Buddhist literature, identified the present village of Basārh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar as marking the spot where stood Vaiśālī in ancient days.[5] This identification has been accepted by scholars.[6] W. Hoey[7] was the only person to challenge this; he sought to establish the identity, though on very insufficient evidence, of Vaiśālī with a place called Cherānd in the Saran district, situated on the northern bank of the Ganges about seven miles south from Chapra. This identification has been proved to be entirely untenable by V. A. Smith in his papers on Vaiśālī,[8] and he has succeeded in establishing that the identification by Cunningham of the

1. K. P. Jayaswal, 'Chronology and History of Nepal 600 B. C. to 880 A. D.', J. B. O. R. S., 1936, p. 261.
2. M., II, p. 101.
3. *Dialogues*, II, p. 92.
4. The *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* begins with this episode (*Dial.*, II, pp 78-81)
5. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 55-56 and Vol. XVI, p. 6; *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 507-508.
6. See my article entitled 'Vaiśālī, the Birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra' in *Homage*, pp. 85-90.
7. J. A. S. B., 1900, pp. 78-83.
8. J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 267-288. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12 (New York, 1921), pp. 567-568 (*s. v.* Vaiśālī). We are indebted to V. A. Smith for a scientific identification of the Vajjian capital for which see *Homage*, pp. 149-158.

village of Basārḥ with Vaiśālī admits of no doubt. This identity has been proved still more decisively by the archaeological excavations on the site carried on in 1903-04 by T. Bloch,[1] in 1913-14 by D. B. Spooner,[2] in 1950 by K. Deva, and in 1958-59 by A. S. Altekar.[3] And now-a-days this identification is universally accepted to such an extent that if a fresh attempt is made, it may be regarded as sheer waste of energy.

From an examination of the history of the foundations of Vaiśālī we are tempted to conclude that there were three phases in the life-history of this great city: (1) Before the time of king Viśāla we hear of several important kings, but no source mentions that these kings ruled at Vaiśālī. Hence either Vaiśālī might have existed but does not find mention or the capital was some other city in the pre-Visalian times (a course which cannot be ruled out entirely). (2) Vaiśālī was founded by king Viśāla and it remained the seat of the kings for several generations. (3) Then there is a gap and we do not know definitely if the monarchical Vaiśālī was re-settled or the old city had already been abandoned or destroyed due to some reason and a new Vaiśālī was founded by the Vajjians or the Lichchhavis.

Out of proto-Vaiśālī, monarchical Vaiśālī and Vajjian or republican Vaiśālī, we have already seen the first two and at present we have to examine the origin of Vaiśālī, also called Viśālā,[4] as known from the Buddhist sources.

An account of the mythical origin of the Lichchhavis, the Vajji country and the capital Vaiśālī is given in the *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*[5] by Buddhaghosha. The *Pujāvaliya*,[6] a Ceylonese Buddhist work, also gives the same account though with some slight variations. These stories, of course, are entirely mythical and must have grown up much later, there being no evidence in the sacred canon itself

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for* 1903-04, article on 'Excavations at Basarh' on pp. 81-122.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for* 1913-14, article on 'Excavations at Basarh' on pp 98-185.

3. His work of excavation in the Vaiśālī area is being continued by K. K. Datta.

4. A. A., I, p. 47. *Chūlavaṁsa*, P. T. S., xcix, 98.

5. *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, edited by H. Smith, P. T. S., pp. 158-160.

6. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, second edition, 1880, pp. 242-243.

to corroborate any part of the narrative. B.C. Law[1] gleans from these stories two outstanding facts that, in his opinion, do not seem to admit of any doubt, *viz.*, that the city was founded by the Lichchhavis and that the area covered by the town was very extensive; in fact, it owes its name Vaiśālī to its being *viśāla* or very large and wide in area. B.C. Law's first conclusion may not be unequivocally accepted because the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* ascribe the foundation of Vaiśālī or Viśālā to a king named Viśāla. But his second conclusion is well-established because the *Papañchasūdani* and other Buddhist sources[2] also say that Vaiśālī is so called because it is extensive.[3]

This brings us to the consideration of the reasons as to why Vaiśālī was so called. As is usually known, it is because it was founded by a king named Viśāla and because it was very wide in extent. Both the reasons are based on the word Viśāla from which Viśālā and Vaiśālī are derived. It might have been so called because of the Viś or Vaiśya population of the town also.[4] The *Mahābhārata*[5] knows a Viśālā river in the locality and that river might have lent this name to the town. In our opinion the *śāla* in the name of the city (Viśālā or Vaiśālī) seems to possess some significance and might have something to do with the naming of the city. The Himalayan area adjoining Vaiśālī and Vaiśālī itself were full of *sāl* trees and forests. In the Vaiśālī area there was a forest called Gosiṅgasālavana. Vaiśālī itself was full of *sāl* trees.[6] One of the names of the Gaṇḍaka river is Śālagrāmī, because it passes through village Śālagrāma (in Nepal) which is so called because of *sāl* forests and the śālagrāma stones found there. *Śāla* means *prākāra*[7] (wall) also. And particularly in the case of Vaiśālī we learn in the *Jātakas* that

1 *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 39-40.

2. *Papañchasūdani*, Vol. II, p. 19. *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S., Vol. II, p. 393. *Cf. Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 184 and *Majjhima-Aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 259. See D. P. P. N., Vol. II, p. 943

3. Is it the result of a popular etymology ?

4. Suggested by V. Rangacharya, *Vedic India*, Part I, p. 426.

5. *Mbh*, IX. 38. 4, 21; XIII. 25. 44.

6. So says the *Śrenika-Charitra* (*Viśālākhyā purī tatra vartate śālamaṇḍitā*) quoted in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol 3, p. 50, n. 2.

7. *Vāchaspatya*, p. 6000. *Śabda-kalpa-druma*, Vol V, p. 60. *Cf.* K. B. Pathak on *Meghadūta*, I. 30 (meaning of *viśālā=viśishtāh śālāh prākārā yasyām sā*); Vallabhadeva of the tenth century A D says, '*vividhāścha śālā yasyāstām*' (Sriranjana Surideva, *Meghadūta : Eka Anuchintana*, Patna, 1960, p. 202). Our Viśālā was also noted for its buildings (*śālās*).

this city was encompassed by three walls[1] at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another. It is difficult to say which of these suggestions is correct.

The determination of the extent of Vaiśālī city is a knotty problem. The known data in this connection are as follows:—

(1) We learn from the introductory portions of two *Jātakas*[2] that a triple wall encompassed the town. Each wall was a league (*gāvuta*) distant from the next.[3]

(2) The *Mahāvagga*[4] gives the following account of Vaiśālī:—"At that time Vesālī was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were 7707 storeyed buildings, and 7707 pinnacled buildings, and 7707 pleasure grounds (ārāmas), and 7707 lotus-ponds."[5]

(3) Buddhaghosha gives a mythical account of the origin of the Vajji country and the Lichchhavis in which he says that the country inhabited by the Lichchhavis who were worthy of being abandoned (*Vajjitabbā*) and measuring three hundred yojanas[6] was called Vajji and that when the number of the Lichchhavis increased quickly and there was no room in the city for their gardens, pleasure-groves, residential houses and attendants, three walls were thrown up round the city at a distance of a *gāvuta* (a quarter of a yojana) from one another; as the city was thus again and again made larger and still larger (*visālīkatā*), it came to be called Vesālī.[7]

1. *Jātaka* Nos. 94 and 149.

2. *Jātaka* Nos. 94 (*Lomahaṁsa-Jātaka*) and 149 (*Ekapaṇṇa-Jātaka*).

3. *Jātaka* No. 149.

4. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1 (N. K. Bhagwat's Nāgarī Text Edition, Vol. II, p. 122)=S. B. E., 17, p. 171 and *The Book of the Discipline*, Eng. tr. by I. B. Horner, Vol. IV (London, 1951), p. 379.

5. S. B. E, 17, p. 171.

6. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 21. It looks rather strange that so many states (*e.g.*, Vajji, Videha, Aṅga-Magadha and Kāśī-Kosala) should all be of 300 leagues in circuit each. For Videha see *Jātaka* Nos. 406 and 489. For Kāśī-Kosala and Aṅga-Magadha see *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Hindi, p. 14, n. and p. 15, n. and for the latter also *Buddhacharyā*, p. 78. Peculiarly enough both Kāśī-Kosala and Aṅga-Magadha had each 80,000 villages (*Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Hindi, p. 14, n.). Thus these statements (about 300 leagues and 80,000 villages) appear to be of a traditional character and can hardly have any historical value.

7. *Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, edited by H. Smith, P.T.S., pp. 158-160.

(4) The Tibetan *Dulva* (iii f. 80) gives the following description: "There were three districts in Vaiśālī. In the first district were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district were 14000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district were 21000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions."[1] A similar description of Vaiśālī is given by the *Gilgit Manuscripts*.[2]

(5) From what we read of the description of the ruins of the city that Hiuen Tsiang saw in the seventh century A.D., there can hardly be any doubt of its wide extent. The Chinese traveller relates: "Its old foundations (*i.e.*, the foundations of the capital city of Vaiśālī) are from 60 to 70 *li* in circuit. The royal precincts (*i.e.*, the palace-city or the walled part of the city) are about four or five *li* round : there are a few people living in it."[3] This would mean an area of about twelve miles[4] in circumference for the town. The citadel or palace precinct was less than a mile (4 or 5 *li*) in circuit.[5]

(6) An idea of the extent may be had also by examining the existing remains spread over several villages like Basarh, Chakramdas and Kamman Chhapra in the Lalganj thana of the Hajipur subdivision and Bania, Kolhua and Basukund in the Paroo thana of the Muzaffarpur subdivision.

While there may not be any apparent hesitation on our part in accepting the erection and subsequent existence of three walls encompassing Vaiśālī, we can reject at the outset the versions of the *Mahāvagga*, the *Paramatthajotikā* and the Tibetan *Dulva* as legendary and consequently of little value. Thus our bases which remain are the Chinese account of Hiuen Tsiang and the modern relics which may be accepted without any difficulty. Thus if we accept the account of Hiuen Tsiang in whose opinion the circumference of Vaiśālī was about twelve miles and presume the city to be a square as the tradition of the

1. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.
2. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt (Srinagar, Kashmir, 1942), p. 6.
3. Beal, Vol. II, p. 66. Watters, Vol. II, p. 63. Also *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 100.
4. V. A. Smith, J R.A S., 1902, p. 274. B. C. Law thinks it to be twenty (*Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, p. 42).
5. J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 274.

existence of three parallel walls erected at a regular and equal distance (a *gāvuta*) wants us to take,[1] each side of Vaiśālī will be three miles and the area will be nine square miles. The distance between the Asokan pillar at Kolhua and the main mound (known as *Rājā Bisāl Kā Garh*) at Basarh and also that between the remains at Basarh and Basukund are about three miles or so in each case. This strengthens our point. Also the area of Pāṭaliputra in the time of Megasthenes (fourth century B.C.) was about 16 square miles[2] and that of Vaiśālī might not have been more.[3]

Hoernle in his English translation of the Jaina work, *Uvāsagadasāo*, advances the suggestion that the three districts of Vesālī referred to in the Tibetan *Dulva*[4] "may very well have been Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vāṇiyagāma, occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern, and western portions of the area of the total city. Beyond Kuṇḍapura, in a further north-easterly direction lay the suburb (or 'station', *Sannivesa*) of Kollāga (see § 7), which appears to have been principally inhabited by the Kshatriyas of the Nāya (or Jñātṛi) clan, to which Mahāvīra himself belonged; for in § 66 it is described as the Nāya-Kula."[5] Hoernle further observes that the phrases used in the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, like "*uttara-Khattiya-Kuṇḍapura-sannivesa* or *dāhiṇa-māhaṇa-Kuṇḍapura-sannivesa*, do not mean the northern Kshatriya (resp., southern Brahmanical) part of the place Kuṇḍapura, but 'the northern Kshatriya (etc.) suburb of Kuṇḍapura', *i.e.*, that suburb (sannivesa) of the city of Kuṇḍapura, which lay towards the north and was inhabited by the (Nāya clan of) Kshatriyas; it was distinguished from the southern suburb of the same city

1. It might be circular also according to this tradition. We have, however, taken it to be of the square size for the convenience of calculation of area.

2. Palibothra (Greek for Pāṭaliputra) is said to be a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, tr. J. W. McCrindle, second edition, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 65, 210). *Cf.* Fleet, J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 648 (9. 193 miles × 1. 723 miles = 15. 846 sq. miles for Pāṭaliputra).

3. For a reason see *infra*. Vaiśālī is not included among the six great cities of Buddhist India or the ten great cities of Jaina India. For these lists see P. H. A. I., p. 107 and Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947, p. 251 respectively.

4. And in the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

5. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Translation, Note 8, p. 4.

(Kuṇḍapura or Vesālī) which was inhabited by Brāhmaṇas. This interpretation is confirmed by the parallel phrases in *Kap.* §22 (*et passim*), *Khattiya-Kuṇḍagāme nayare* and *māhaṇa-Kuṇḍagāme nayare*, which are rightly translated by 'the Kshatriya (resp., the Brahmanical) part of the town Kuṇḍagāma'."[1] He adds that "the phrase *uchcha-nīya-majjhimāṁ kulāiṁ*, 'upper, lower and middle classes', applied to the town of Vāṇiyagāma in §§ 77, 78 [of the *Uvāsagadasāo*], curiously agrees with the description of Vesālī given in the *Dulva*."[2]

The total population of Vaiśālī is not known. But according to the *Mahāvastu*,[3] 168000 Vaisalians, divided equally (84000+84000) in outer and inner citizens, came to greet the Buddha when the latter visited Vaiśālī for the first time, after his Enlightenment. It may, however, be noted that as 84 is a mystic number, this figure may not help us much.

A few things known about other North Indian towns may be mentioned here with a view to having a comparative estimate, though obviously the materials given here should not be taken literally in every case.

Vaiśālī appears to be a smaller town than Pāṭaliputra (which grew later) if we compare the areas of the towns furnished by two foreigners, *viz.*, Hiuen Tsiang in the case of Vaiśālī and Megasthenes in the case of Pāṭaliputra.[4] Another point known in this connection is that the revenue from the western gate of Vesālī which led from Sāvatthī into Vesālī was one hundred thousand which was given to Mahāli;[5] while in the ninth year of Aśoka's reign his income from the four gates of the city of Pāṭaliputra is stated to have been four hundred thousand *kahāpanas* daily, with another one hundred thousand for his sabhā or council.[6] The figures, however, appear to be traditional.

Buddhaghosha says that in the Buddha's days there were 57000 families in Sāvatthī and that it was the chief city in the country of Kāśī-Kosala, which was 300 leagues in extent and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
3. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 256, 271.
4. Discussed already (p. 131).
5. *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 338.
6. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 52.

had 80,000 villages.[1] The population of Sāvatthī was 18 crores.[2] An exactly similar statement is made with reference to Rājagaha and Aṅga-Magadha.[3] In the case of Vajji and Vaiśālī we find that the Vajji country is stated to measure 300 yojanas[4] and, while the number of villages in Vajji is not stated, there are said to exist in the Buddha's time 7707 palaces (*pāsādā*), 7707 *kūṭāgāras*, 7707 *ārāmas* and 7707 tanks (*pokkharaṇiyo*) at Vesālī according to a *Mahāvagga*[5] account and 42000 houses in all the three districts of Vaiśālī according to the Tibetan *Dulva.*[6] As the figures supplied are traditional, no historical conclusion is possible except that these cities were in a flourishing state.[7]

From the accounts that we get from the Buddhist books, whether Pali or Sanskrit or Tibeto-Chinese, we observe that Vaiśālī is represented as a town that was rich and prosperous. The *Mahāvagga*, one of the oldest books of the Pali canon, tells us that at the time the Buddha lived, Vaiśālī "was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were 7707 storeyed buildings, 7707 pinnacled buildings, 7707 pleasure grounds and 7707 lotus-ponds."[8]

A similar account of the prosperity of Vaiśālī is given in the *Lalitavistara*: "The rich, good, generous and happy

1. *Ibid.*, III, p. 614.
2. S. N. A, I, p. 371.
3. *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Hindi translation, pp. 14-15, note.
4. *Paramatthajotikā*, P. T. S., pp. 158-160 (for the story): quoted in *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 25.
5. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1. (Vol. II, p. 122, N. K. Bhagwat's edition, Bombay, 1952).
6. Rockhill, p. 62. And also according to the *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 6.
7. The *Uvāsagadasāo* mentions householders of some Indian towns with possessions in terms of certain crores of measures of gold. If it be supposed that the author of the Jaina work wants to convey some idea about the comparative importance of the towns, the data furnished may be of some use. Towns and the possessions of the individual householders in terms of crores of measures of gold are given below:—

1.	Rāyagiha	8
2.	Bānārasī	8 and 6
3.	Champā	6
4.	Kampillapura	6
5.	Ālabhiyā	6
6.	Sāvatthī	4 and 4
7.	Vāṇiyagāma	4
8.	Polāsapura	1

8. S. B. E, Vol. 17 (*Vinaya Texts*, Part II), p. 171.

city of Vaiśali (*i.e.*, Vaiśālī), inhabited by numbers and adorned by covered court-yards, gates, triumphal arches, windows, palaces, towers, lofty mansions, gardens and groves over-stocked with flowers, rivalling the domains of the immortals in beauty. . . . . . ."[1] The passage speaks of the splendour and prosperity of the capital of the Lichchhavis. It was a prosperous and gay city, full of music.[2]

In the Tibetan works, a similar account is given of the prosperity and opulence of Vaiśālī which is invariably described in the *Dulva* as a kind of earthly paradise, with its handsome buildings, its parks and gardens, the singing birds, and continual festivities among the Lichchhavis. "Nanda, Upānanda !" exclaimed the Chhabbaggiyā Bhikshus when they visited Vaiśālī, "the Blessed One never saw the like of this, even when he was among the Trayastriṁśat devas."[3]

The *Romantic History of Śākya Buddha*, translated by Beal from Chinese sources, gives an account similar to that in the *Lalitavistara*. Here we read of a god in the Tushita heaven who speaks thus, "This Vajora country has a city called Vaiśālī, rich in every kind of produce; the people in peace and contentment; the country enriched and beautiful as a heavenly mansion; the king called 'Drumaraja';[4] his son without the least stain on his scutcheon; the king's treasuries full of gems, and gold and silver; perhaps you will be born there."[5]

1. *Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., pp 38-39.
2. Fausböll, *Dhammapada* (old edition), p. 391.
3. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 63 (*Dulva*, x, f. 2).
4. He must have been a republican 'king' (= 'Dharmarāja' ?).
5. Beal, *Romantic History of Śākya Buddha*, p. 28.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL AND FOREIGN RELATIONS UNDER THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

It is only in the days of the Buddha and Mahāvīra that we have details of the Vajjian Republic; but if we try, we may get some glimpses of the Republic prior to the days of the sixth century B.C. prophets also.

Naturally, the first task of the Republic was the consolidation and the perfection of the administrative machinery, especially because the number of clans inhabiting the Vajjian territory was not small. The seven fundamental principles of the Vajjian democracy (and hence of ancient Indian democracy), referred to by the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*, were evolved and followed. The cult of Pārśvanātha entered Vajji and came to have its adherents.[1] The state became strong and the writer of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* considered it necessary to include it among the sixteen Mahājanapadas of that period.[2]

Up to the middle of the sixth century B.C. the Vajjian Republic and the Magadhan kingdom were going side by side; after the accession of Bimbisāra (547 B.C.) to the throne of Rājagṛiha they came face to face.

We do not know whether Bimbisāra seized Magadha after expelling the Vajjis beyond the Ganges. Such a view, favouring the expulsion of the Vajjis from Magadha, has been expressed by D. R. Bhandarkar.[3] But the only evidence put forward by him is that Vaiśālī is spoken of in an early Buddhist work, the *Suttanipāta*,[4] as *Māgadhaṁ puram*. It may be pointed out that this argument is based on a wrong meaning of the text. The

1. According to the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 16 (S. B. E., 22, p. 194) the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the Śramaṇas.

2. The period refers to *c.* 700 B. C. or so when Kāśī was still a flourishing state, because Kāśī (later conquered by Kosala) appears as one of the sixteen states in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* list.

3. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 73.

4. Verse 1013.

commentator has taken *Māgadhaṁ puram* not in apposition to Vaiśālī but as a synonym of Rājagṛiha. Mention of the Pāsāṇa-chetiya in the same verse also goes to show that *Māgadhaṁ puram* was not Vaiśālī. At several places we find mention of the chaityas or chetiyas round about Vaiśālī, but nowhere do we come across a Pāsāṇa-chetiya. From verse 1014 of the *Suttanipāta* it appears that the chetiya was situated on a mountain peak. It is quite possible, therefore, that it was one of the chetiyas round about Rājagṛiha,[1] especially when we know that there is no mountain or hill at or near Vaiśālī.

There does not appear any reasonable doubt in concluding that there was a war between Bimbisāra and the Lichchhavis, as such a war is referred to incidentally in some of the Buddhist sources.[2] But they do not indicate either the causes or the date of such a war, which leaves us to take recourse to surmises. Probably this war was connected either directly or indirectly with, and followed, the Magadhan conquest of Aṅga. Did the Lichchhavis protest against Bimbisāra's conquest of Aṅga ? Was Aṅga in alliance with the Vajjian Republic ? Or, had it extended its frontiers or sphere of influence over the trans-Gangetic region which the Buddhist literature knows as Aṅguttarāpa ? To us it appears that about this time Aṅga had become powerful and had some sort of control over Aṅguttarāpa.[3] When Bimbisāra conquered Aṅga, he might have claimed sovereignty over Aṅguttarāpa also. But in the meantime the Lichchhavis (or the Vajjians) might have conquered back the territory of Aṅguttarāpa which once had belonged to them. This might have provided a possible cause of conflict between Bimbisāra and the Lichchhavis.

Although the war seems to have been a long drawn-out one, its details are not preserved. Only one incident is recorded, that of the visit of Bimbisāra *incognito* to Ambapālī, the famous

1. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 328. Law conjectures that most probably it was the Gridhrakūṭa (Pali Gijjhakūṭa) monastery.

2. *The Book of the Discipline* (*Vinaya-Piṭaka*), Vol. I, p. 189. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 20 (top). Rockhill, p. 64. Also see Hiuen Tsiang's account of Rājagriha (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. Samuel Beal, Vol II, p. 166) which refers to the king of Vaiśālī raising an army and putting it in movement to invade Bimbisāra-rāja.

3. This may be presumed from the fact that Aṅga is one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* list where Videha is not mentioned at all.

courtesan of Vaiśālī. Bimbisāra heard of her through Gopāla, his minister; he visited her at Vaiśālī, though he was at war with the Lichchhavis, and remained with her for seven days. Ambapālī bore him a son named Abhaya (or Fearless)[1]. This story which makes Abhaya or Abhayakumāra, as the Jaina books have it, a son of Ambapālī, the courtesan of Vaiśālī, is not vouchsafed by the Pali books where her son through Bimbisāra is called Vimala Koṇḍañña who became a Bhikkhu and whose preachings are said to have given her a deep spiritual insight.[2]

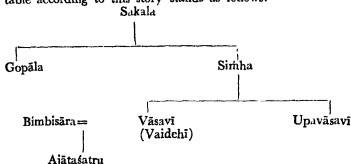
From Jaina sources we know that Bimbisāra married Chellanā, daughter of Cheṭaka, the Lichchhavi 'Rājā' of Vaiśālī. D. R. Bhandarkar connects this event with the Magadha-Vaiśālī War and holds that "this matrimonial alliance was a result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisāra and the Lichchhavis."[3]

Can we determine the date of this peace and the matrimonial alliance that followed ? There is no harm in making an effort.

Rahula Sankrityayana[4] gives a conversation between the Buddha and Bimbisāra on the basis of the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā* (IV. 2) in which Bimbisāra's sovereignty over three hundred yojanas (*i.e.*, over Aṅga-Magadha) is mentioned. The date of this conversation according to Sankrityayana is Phālguna full-moon after the sixth rainy season of the Buddha which comes to March, 526 B. C. according to our calculation. Thus, if Sankrityayana's opinion of the date of the said conversation be accepted, we may say that peace was established before March, 526 B. C. and not after that.

Ajātaśatru, from his eagerness to wrest the throne from his father, Bimbisāra, appears to be fairly grown-up at the time of his accession which event took place in 495 B.C. If he was thirty-four at that time, he was born in 529 B.C. Thus the marriage of Bimbisāra and Chellanā, mother of Ajātaśatru, might have taken place in 530 B.C., if not earlier. This date (530 B.C.) may be accepted as a working hypothesis for the present for conclusion of the Magadha-Vajjian War.

1. Rockhill, p. 64. The story is also given in *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 15-22.
2. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 120-121; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 65.
3. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 74.
4. *Buddhacharyā* (Hindi), p. 78.

What was the name of the Lichchhavi lady who was given in marriage to Bimbisāra either as a result of the matrimonial alliance or as an independent transaction ? Several names of this lady are known to the indigenous and non-Indian Buddhist literature and to the Jaina literature. According to the *Nirayāvalī-Sūtra*, one of the early works of the Jainas, she was Chellanā[1], the daughter of Cheṭaka, one of the 'Rājās' of Vaiśālī, whose sister Kshatriyānī Triśalā was the mother of Mahāvīra. According to the *Divyāvadāna*[2] king Bimbisāra reigned at Rājagṛiha, Vaidehī was his Mahādevī (or Chief Queen) and Ajātaśatru, his son and prince (Kumāra). This Vaidehī was naturally a princess from Videha, *i.e.*, Vaiśālī. The fact that Ajātaśatru is called Vedehi-putta or Vaidehīputra[3] may enable us to infer that one of the wives of Bimbisāra was Vaidehī, *i.e.*, a Videhan or Vaisalian princess whose personal name, however, is not indicated here. And Ajātaśatru was born of her. This *Nikāya* evidence is taken to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was situated in Videha.[4] The Tibetan *Dulva* gives the name of Vāsavī to Ajātaśatru's mother and narrates a story[5] which cannot be traced in the Pali Buddhist books. The genealogical table according to this story stands as follows:—

As Vāsavī was of a family from Videha, she became known as Vaidehī. After a while she bore a son, who, on account of the

1. Jacobi, S. B. E., 22, p. xiii and n.; also see *Homage*, p. 93 and n.
2. Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 545.
3. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 55 (*cf.* p. 545). Commentary on *Digha-Nikāya*, I, p. 47. Commentary on *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 125. Commentary on *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, II, p. 215. *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, II, p. 268. Quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 109, n. 1.
4. P. H. A I., p. 207, n.
5. Rockhill, pp. 63-64.

prediction made to his mother, received the name of Ajātaśatru or 'the enemy (while) not (yet) born'. In another Tibetan life of the Buddha her name is Śrībhadrā, which reminds us of the name of Cheṭaka's wife Subhadrā.[1] In Vol. I, page 38, n. 1 of *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*,[2] however, Maddā (Madrā) appears as the name of Ajātaśatru's mother.

Thus we have five names of Ajātaśatru's mother, that is, Chellanā, Vaidehī, Vāsavī, Śrībhadrā and Maddā (Madrā). Of these two, *viz.*, Vaidehī and Madrā, appear to be mere appellations inasmuch as Vaidehī means a Videhan princess and Madrā may mean a princess from the Madra country. It appears later tradition ascribed the motherhood of Ajātaśatru to each of the queens of Bimbisāra, *viz.*, those from Videha, Kosala and Madra (Chellanā, Kosalādevī and Khemā respectively).

The Jaina tradition is unanimous about Ajātaśatru's mother who is called Chellanā. The Buddhist tradition, however, is not so. The *Divyāvadāna* states, "At Rājagṛiha reigns the king Bimbisāra. Vaidehī is his Mahādevī (or Chief Queen) and Ajātaśatru, his son and Kumāra (Prince)."[3] There can, therefore, be no doubt that the Videhan princess was the mother of Ajātaśatru in the opinion of that work. The Buddhist *Nikāyas* also call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta (Vaidehīputra), *i.e.*, son of the Videhan princess. But Buddhaghosha, in the commentary of the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, III. 2. sections 4-5, gives an alternative meaning of the word *Vedeha* in Vedehiputta by resolving it into "*Veda-iha*", *Vedena ihati* or intellectual effort and seems to suggest that the expression Vedehiputta simply means "Son of the Accomplished Princess." He says that here the other meaning deriving the expression from Videha, the country, is not admissible.[4] Buddhaghosha himself in other passages[5] has taken the more natural sense of the word but

1. S. B. E., 22, p. xiii, n. 3.
2. Tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids and S. Sumangala Thera.
3. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 545.
4. The context is provided by the occasion when a contest arose over Kāśī village between Prasenajit of Kosala and Ajātaśatru of Magadha and the latter claimed the village saying that it had belonged to his mother (referring to Kosalādevī, the Kosalan wife of Bimbisāra). See *Buddhacharyā*, p. 409, esp. n.
5. Commentary on *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, 47; Commentary on *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, 125; Commentary on *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, II, 215; quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Vol. I, p. 109, n. 1.

sometimes, as here, he has been misled into a fanciful interpretation. There are other pieces of evidence also from Buddhist literature on this point. In the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*[1] Prasenajit of Kosala calls Ajātaśatru his nephew, but this may not mean much beyond formality. The commentary on the *Tachchha-Sūkara-Jātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 492) refers to the war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit, but does not say clearly that Mahākosala's daughter (Prasenajit's sister) whom Bimbisāra married was Ajātaśatru's mother. This silence may be regarded as important. It is only in the *Thusa-Jātaka* (No. 338) and the *Mūshika-Jātaka* (No. 373) that the Kosalan princess is definitely said to be the mother of Ajātaśatru. The preface to the *Jātakas* says—"At the time of his (Ajātaśatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra (her husband)". Here the commentators have evidently made a confusion between the two queens of Bimbisāra.

Bimbisāra learnt of Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, through a trader of Rājagṛiha, who had been to the Lichchhavi capital and hence had recommended this institution to the Magadhan king. The recommendation was accepted and Sālavatī was selected for the post.[2] Thus Vaiśālī was emulated at that time even by the Magadhan capital. The secret visit of Bimbisāra to Ambapālī may be placed later than this event.

The Brāhmaṇa envoys of Magadha[3] (along with those of Kosala) are indicated as residing at Vaiśālī on some business. This shows active intercourse between Vaiśālī and Magadha on a political level.

Vaiśālī had relations also with the neighbouring states in the west.

Taking up the republican states of the Mallas first, we find many points of contact and similarity between the Mallas and the Lichchhavis. Both belonged to the Vāsishṭha gotra.[4]

1. *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 110.
2. *Mahāvagga*, VIII 1. 1.
3. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I 6 (*Mahāli-Sutta*) = *Dialogues*, I, p. 197.
4. For Lichchhavis, *Mahāvastu*, I, p 283; Rockhill, pp. 97ff; S. B. E., 22, pp. 191, 193, 226. For Mallas of Kusinārā, *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* (*Dialogues*, II, pp. 162-163, 179, 181-183, 185; S. B. E., 11, pp. 101-102, 121-122, 124-125, 128). For Mallas of Pāvā, *Sangīti-Sutta* (*Dialogues*, III, p. 202).

Both had the Saṅgha (republican) form of government.[1] The members were called Rājās[2] who assembled in their respective Santhāgāras or Mote-Halls.[3] They showed enthusiasm for the newly developing religions of the sixth century B.C., *viz.*, Buddhism and Jainism. For this and other reasons, both were condemned *together* as Vrātyas by Manu.[4]

The relation of the Lichchhavis with their neighbours, the Mallas, seems generally to have been friendly. They stood together against their common foe, Ajātaśatru.[5] The *Kalpa-Sūtra* informs us that to mark the passing away of Mahāvīra, nine Mallakis (Mallaīs) and nine Lichchhavis (Lechchhaīs) were among those who instituted an illumination on the day of the new moon, saying, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."[6] The only instance of hostility between these two republican groups is provided by the story[7] of Bandhula Malla, who was the commander-in-chief of the Kosalan king. But this was a personal affair of Bandhula concerning neither the Malla nor the Kosalan state—a point which is missed by scholars.[8]

The eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī-Kosala are mentioned as having sided with the nine Mallaīs and the nine Lechchhaīs against Ajātaśatru.[9] They instituted an illumination in honour of Mahāvīra's death along with these allies.[10] Their identity is quite uncertain. H. C. Raychaudhuri[11] throws the suggestion that the Gaṇarājas of Kāśī-Kosala apparently refer to the Kālāmas, Śākyas and other clans in the Kosalan empire.

1. M., I, p. 231.
2. For Lichchhavis, *Arthaśāstra*, XI. 1; *Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 39; numerous other examples. For Mallas, *Arthaśāstra*, XI. 1; *Dialogues*, III, p. 201, n. 1.
3. *E.g.*, S. B. E., 17, pp. 108 ff (for Lichchhavi Mote-Hall); *Dial.*, II, p. 187 (for Malla Mote-Hall).
4. *Manu-Smṛiti*, X. 22.
5. P. H. A. I., p. 212 (on the evidence of the *Nirayāvalī-Sūtra*).
6. S. B. E., 22, p. 266.
7. *Bhaddasāla-Jātaka* (No. 465).
8. *E.g.*, B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 129: "There were, however, occasional hostilities [between the Lichchhavis and the Mallas], as is shown by the story of Bandhula, a Mallian prince."
9. P. H. A. I., p. 212.
10. S. B. E., 22, p. 266.
11. *Indian Culture*, Vol. 2, p. 808. *Cf.* P. H. A. I., pp. 99, 155, 192, 193.

The Lichchhavis appear to have been on friendly terms with Kosala. Mahāli,[1] a great Lichchhavi of Vaiśālī, and Prasenajit, yet a prince of Kosala, read together at Takkasilā[2] and developed great friendship there. Prasenajit, while going to arrest Aṅgulimāla, the murderer, tells the Buddha, whom he meets on the way, that both Bimbisāra of Magadha and the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī are his friends.[3] The Brāhmaṇa envoys of Kosala,[4] along with those of Magadha, are found lodging at Vaiśālī when the Buddha was once staying at the Gabled Hall in the Great Wood.

Vatsa established a matrimonial alliance with Vaiśālī, because Jaina literature tells us that Mṛigāvatī,[5] one of the seven daughters of Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī, had been married to Śatānīka, king of Vatsa with capital at Kauśāmbī. This gets corroboration from Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*[6] where Udayana, son of Śatānīka, is called Vaidehīputra. Mṛigāvatī, being of Videha, might well be called Vaidehī and her son for this reason could be known as Vaidehīputra.

The relation of the Vajjians with Ajātaśatru, Bimbisāra's successor on the throne of Rājagṛiha, will be dealt with when we take up the fall of the Vajjian Republic.

1. Called Mahā-lichchhavi in *Dhammapada* (p. 219).
2. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 440, n. (*Dh. A.*, IV. 3).
3. M., II, p. 101.
4. D., I, p. 150.
5. *Homage*, p. 93. Also *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Part II pp. 231-246.
6. Act VI, p. 68 (Ganapati Sastri's ed.).

CHAPTER XIV

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

THE STATE AND ITS TERRITORY[1]

The Vajjian State extended over what is generally known as Vajji-raṭṭha (Vṛiji-rāshṭra in Sanskrit) in Pali literature. The influence of this State might have extended over at least the southern portion of Videha along the Ganges river.[2] In the second half of the sixth century B.C. this latter tract, known as Aṅguttarāpa in Buddhist literature, was under the possession of Bimbisāra of Magadha.[3]

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The Vajjian State was under a form of government known as the Saṅgha or Gaṇa.[4] As the Lichchhavis were the most important element, it was also called the Lichchhavi-Gaṇa.[5] It was a Gaṇādhīna State as distinguished from a Rājādhīna State.[6]

The Vajjian State is usually but erroneously regarded as a federal republic. But, as we have shown in a previous chapter of this book, it was only a republic and not a republican federation, because Videha was not a constituent element of what has generally been called the Vajjian Confederacy. The formation of a temporary federation, however, with their neighbours, the Mallas, is known to a Jaina source.[7] This con-

1. In arranging the topics in this chapter we have derived help from *The Constitution of India* (Delhi, 1949).

2. This is merely a presumption, the basis being the tradition that a Gangetic port was the bone of contention between the Lichchhavis and Ajātaśatru.

3. *Majjhima-Nikāya, Sutta* No. 92 (*Sela-Sutta*).

4. M., I, p. 231. Another typical example of this form of government was provided by the Mallas (*ibid.*).

5. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 254 (*Gaṇa*), p. 255 (*Lichchhavi-Gaṇa*). Also *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225 (quoted by B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 71-72) which mentions the *Lichchhavi-Gaṇa*.

6. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 3.

7. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128 (S.B.E., 22, p. 266).

federacy existed in the year when Mahāvīra died. The composition of the Federal Council was of the following description :[1]

(1) The eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kosala,[2]

(2) The nine Mallakis, and

(3) The nine Lichchhavis.

Grand total—36 members (Gaṇarājas).

This indicates that the federal states had equal votes, that the federation was based on terms of equality. The Mallas were not so great a political power as the Lichchhavis, yet in the Federal Council both had equal number of members, that is equal voice.[3]

CITIZENSHIP

Although the Vajjian Republic was a tribal republic, outsiders were eligible to citizenship. Kātyāyana, modifying one of the rules of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 100), says that a person of Vṛiji-*bhakti*[4] may be called a Vṛijika. A Vṛijika therefore might not have been a born Vṛiji. It has to be noticed that Kauṭilya (A. Ś., XI. 1), in mentioning the king-consul republics, uses the form Vṛijika. The 'Vṛijikas' included Vṛijis and non-Vṛijis owning a common Vṛiji allegiance, which would include people originally conquered by the Vṛijis or people voluntarily amalgamated with the Vṛijis.[5] It is thus evident that this republic extended citizenship to outsiders.[6]

DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

What were the directive principles of state policy among the Vajjians?

The seven points of the excellence of the Vajjians[7] as indicated by the Buddha before Ānanda and Varshakāra at

1. *Ibid.*

2. We suggest that there might have been nine Gaṇarājas belonging to the republican tribes of Kāśī and the other nine Gaṇarājas to those of Kosala.

3. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 48.

4. *Bhakti* literally means 'sharing', 'exclusion', and secondarily 'attachment' (*Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 99).

5. It may be noted that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛitānga* (II. 1. 13) the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas, the *Jñātṛis*, the Kauravas, the warriors, the Brāhmaṇas, the Lichchhavis, the commanders and the generals are indicated as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly (S. B. E., 45, p. 339).

6. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 100.

7. *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* (beginning). For Eng. tr. see S. B. E., 11, pp. 3-4 and *Dialogues*, II, pp. 79-80.

Gṛidhrakūṭa (the Vulture's Peak) at Rājagṛiha may be regarded as the directive principles. Analysed in this light these are as follows:—

1. The Vajjians should hold full and frequent public assemblies.

2. They should meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord.

3. They should enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days.

4. They should honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words.

From the legislative side we pass on to the social and religious aspects.

5. No women or girls belonging to their clans should be detained among them by force or abduction.

6. They should honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines (chetiyāni) in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude.

7. The rightful protection, defence, and support should be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease.

There is no doubt that the Vajjians were directed by these principles because they had already been taught these conditions of welfare by the Buddha when he was staying at Vaiśālī at the Sārandada Chaitya.[1]

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

A later document, the *Aṭṭhakathā*,[2] mentions three highest officers, *viz.*, the President (Rājā), the Vice-President (Upa-Rājā) and the Generalissimo (Senāpati). An early authority (*Jātaka*, I, p. 504) adds a fourth officer: the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Bhaṇḍāgārika). There is no

1. The teaching referred to is set out in full at A., IV, 16 ff, but the persons taught are there called Lichchhavis.

2. Turnour, J. A. S. B., 7 (1838), pp. 993 ff.

doubt that these were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed the cabinet or central executive authority.[1] They had executive, military and also judicial functions[2] to perform.

These posts were elective.[3]

The real power of administration especially in regard to foreign affairs seems to have been vested in a smaller body of nine Gaṇarājas or archons (*Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128).[4]

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

The Central Legislature or the Parliament of the Vajjian (or Lichchhavi) Republic is said to have consisted of 7707 members.[5] Each member was called a Rājā.[6] It appears the Rājās were drawn from the Lichchhavi tribe.[7]

The *Jātaka* No. 149 gives an interesting passage which describes the constitution of the Lichchhavis:—

"Of the kings who were permanently residing and ruling there (*i.e.*, in Vaiśālī) the number was seven thousand seven hundred and seven. The number of Upa-Rājās was the same, as also the number of Senāpatis and Bhaṇḍāgārikas (Treasurers)".

This indicates that there were 7707 Rājās, 7707 Upa-Rājās, 7707 Senāpatis and 7707 Bhaṇḍāgārikas. Thus each member of the Central Legislative Assembly had one viceroy, one general and one treasurer.

1. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 45.
2. See *infra* for judicial functions.
3. A., III, p. 76. *Lalitavistara*, Eng tr., p. 39 (Every one considers himself to be the king, 'I am the king, I am the king'.) *Cf.* the account of Khaṇḍa in the *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II (beginning).
4. P. H. A. I., p 125.
5. *Jātaka* Nos. 149 and 301. *Cf. Mahāvagga* (VIII. 1. 1. 1) of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* also. See also the *Dhammapada Commentary*, III. 436. According to the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 271) there were 168000 Rājās at Vaiśālī. A S. Altekar (*State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Banaras, 1955, p. 115, n. 1) suggests that "probably the total population of the ruling class was 168000 and the Assembly probably consisted of the heads of big joint families, each consisting of about 20 persons."
6. *Jātaka* Nos. 149 (Rājās) and 301 (Lichchhavi Rājās). Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1). *Cf. Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 39.
7. *Jātaka* No. 301 provides the basis for such a conclusion. It may be remembered that the term *Rājan* in some cases denoted only a Kshatriya (B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 322). But contrast the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (S. B. E., 45, p. 339).

The number 7707 and each member's having one viceroy, one general and one treasurer have led to great controversies[1] and considerable ingenuity has been exercised in interpreting these.

The number 7707 probably represents the number of foundation families who constituted the ruling class.[2] This number may not be ragarded as large when we remember that an unnamed republic on the eastern side of the Beas (presumably the Yaudheya republic) was governed by a council (*i.e.*, Central Assembly) whose membership was 5000 according to the Greek historians (McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 45)[3] and the Assembly of the republic of Athens consisted of more than 42000 members every one of whom had a right to attend its session and vote on the proposals.[4] In actual practice, however, not all the members cared to attend. The country people did not like to spend time and money to attend all the meetings. The normal attendance in Athens was 2000 to 3000, hardly 7 or 8 per cent of the total membership.[5] The same was the case most probably in India also. Out of the 7000 members of the Assembly about 10 per cent may have attended the meetings.[6]

A. S. Altekar has tried to justify the famous *Jātaka* statement that there were 7707 kings and an equal number of Upa-Rājās, Senāpatis and Bhaṇḍāgārikas in the Vaiśālī State. He says that when the Aryans came and occupied this territory, it seems to have been divided into about 7700 Kshatriya families, who became something like the zamindar families of the State. They

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 155-156. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 1st ed. (Calcutta, 1918), pp. 92-94. B. C. Sen, *Studies in Jātakas*, published in J. D. L., Vol. 20, 1930, pp. 27-31. U. N. Ghoshal, I. H. Q., 20, pp. 334 ff. A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed. (Banaras, 1955), pp. 104, 114-115 and *Homage to Vaiśālī* (Vaiśālī, 1948), pp. 69-70. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed. (Bangalore, 1955), pp. 45-46. S. N. Singh, *History* of *Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 38-40.

2. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 45.

3. Pointed out by K. P. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 57) who remarks (p. 58): "The large number of the members of their council is comparable with the number of the Lichchhavi-*gaṇa*".

4. This is pointed out by A. S. Altekar (*Homage*, p. 69; *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 115).

5. *Homage*, p. 70. *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 115.

6. *Ibid. Cf. Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 72. But quite naturally, quarters for all M. L. A.'s had been provided (*Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1).

were all Kshatriyas and were known as Rājans. The heads of these families were staying in the capital and they had their own managers in the moffusil who were known as their treasurers. If the Kshatriya householders were known as Rājans, their sons were naturally called Uparājans or Yuvarājas. Each member of the Kshatriya aristocracy owed military service to the State and was probably the head of a small militia recruited from his zamindari. When he was not able to lead this militia himself, he used to nominate a Senāpati or general to act for him. Thus naturally the Lichchhavi State possessed 7707 'Kings', 7707 'Yuvarājas', 7707 generals and 7707 treasurers.[1]

Though every one of these 7000 and odd Rājās had theoretically the same powers and rights, in actual practice, the voice of the elders prevailed.[2]

The rulers of the republic (Ganarājas) underwent the ceremony of consecration by anointing. There was a Coronation Tank at the Vaiśālī City for this particular purpose[3] which was especially guarded.

The place where the Parliament or the Central Legislative Assembly met was called the Santhāgāra[4] (Saṁsthāgāra in Sanskrit). According to the *Aṭṭhakathā* when the Vaisalians came to their House of Law (Parliament) the tocsin used to be sounded at their House of Law.[5] There they discussed not only matters political and literary, but also agricultural, commercial and religious.[6]

The Gaṇa (or the Lichchhavi-Gaṇa) was the sovereign body. It transacted business on behalf of the whole people.[7] It appointed members of the Executive Council and other functionaries.[8]

1. *Homage*, p. 69.
2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 80.
3. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 148.
4. M., I, p 228. *Vinaya*, I, p. 233=Horner, IV, p. 318. *Cf. Dialogues*, I, p. 113, n. 2 which gives references for the Santhāgāras of the Śākyas and the Mallas also.
5. Turnour, J. A. S. B, 7, pp. 994-995 (quoted in *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 46).
6. *E.g.*, *Vinaya*, I, p. 233=Horner, IV, p. 318 and A., IV, 179 ff (the story of the conversion of Siha); also *Dialogues*, III, p. 16 (the story of Pāṭikaputta).
7. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 254 (*Vaiśālakānāṁ Lichchhavināṁ vachanena*).
8. *Ibid.* Also see *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II (beginning) for a graphic description.

THE CENTRAL JUDICIARY

The uniqueness of the Lichchhavi constitution of Vaiśālī lies in its judicial system[1] which passed through the following stages:—

1. If a citizen was accused of a crime, preliminary enquiry into the case was held in the Court of the Justices (Vinichchaya-Mahāmāttas), who evidently were the regular court for civil causes and ordinary offences.
2. The Court of Appeal was presided over by Vohārikas or 'Lawyer-Judges.'
3. The High Court had its Judges, called the Sūtradhāras or 'Doctors of Law'.
4. There was yet a Council of Final Appeal, called the Court of the Eight or Ashṭa-Kulaka.

Any of these successive courts could pronounce a citizen innocent and acquit him.[2]

5-7. And if all the courts held him guilty, the matter was still subject to the decision of the members of the Executive Cabinet, *i.e.*, the Senāpati, the Upa-Rājā (Vice-President) and the Rājā (President).

8. If he was found guilty by the President, he was punished according to a book called *Paveṇi-Potthaka* (the Book of Precedents), *i.e.*, he was brought to book.

Thus we find that the President (Rājā)[3] was also the highest judicial authority. There was also a Judicial Minister who could be even an outsider, a paid officer.[4] Liberty of the citizen was most jealously guarded.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We do not possess a detailed description of the Lichchhavi government. It is only with the help of the incidental references that an account has been prepared by scholars. Consequently we have no idea of the local government of the Vajjian

1. The details are available in a late source: D. A. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*), II, p. 519. Also see *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., pp. 46-47 for a clear exposition.
2. Turnour, J. A. S B., 7, pp. 993-994.
3. It seems that the 'Rājā' who was the highest authority in the administration of criminal justice was different from the ordinary 'rājās' who constituted the popular assembly (B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 326, n.).
4. Turnour, J. A. S. B., 7, pp. 994-995.

Republic. A passage, however, in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[1] throws interesting light on the subject. The Buddha preaching to the sons of the Lichchhavis says that high careers open to a Kula-putta or cadet of a family were these : he might become consecrated to rulership, might become a Rāshṭrika, or Petta-nika, or the Generalissimo, or the President of a Township (Gāmagāmaṇika), or the President of an Industrial Guild (Pūgagāmaṇika). A sixth career is also added: 'Supreme rulership (over other rulers) by turns'.[2] It is meant that all these offices were elective and a Kula-putta was eligible to all these in a Gaṇa-State like that of the Vajjians.

The Buddhist Church was based on the republics of the sixth century B.C. for its rules and regulations. The republican origin of the Buddhist Saṅgha has been discussed by K. P. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* (chapter 6). We do not possess any details of the procedure of deliberation in the Vajjian Republic. But if we eliminate the religious modifications from the descriptions of the Buddhist Church, we may have a picture of the procedure in the Republic of the Vajjians.[3]

1. A., III, p. 76.

2. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 98. For another translation see *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. III (London, 1952), tr. E. M. Hare, p. 63.

3. This has already been done by K. P. Jayaswal in *Hindu Polity* (chapter 11) with the help of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (*Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga*) and need not be reproduced here.

CHAPTER XV

THE BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

As regards religion and religious history of the Vaiśālī region under the Republic, we possess ample material in Buddhist and Jaina literature and it has been a problem for us as to how to arrange this vast material. The reason is that Vaiśālī, a favourite resort of the Buddha, played a prominent part in the history of Buddhism; it was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas; and it was also a centre of other miscellaneous cults.

First of all, we take up the Buddha and Buddhism. In dealing with this subject, especially regarding converts and sites, we have derived much help from G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* which we gratefully acknowledge. Most of the material being connected with Vaiśālī and the places along the Magadha-Nepal road and the Gaṇḍaka river, this chapter on the Vajji country is naturally longer. For the sake of clearly understanding the whole material, we have made subdivisions in the chapter following the chronology of the life of Gautama Buddha.

(A) GAUTAMA'S CONTACT WITH VAIŚĀLĪ BEFORE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Vajjians from the very beginning appear to have been interested in philosophy and later they founded a school called the Vajjiputtaka school after them. The Champāraṇya forest (in Champaran district) and the Gaṇḍaka area provided places for hermitages of ṛishis. In the sixth century B.C. the area was full of philosophical activity and Gautama, who had renounced the world, thought it fit to consult people there. According to the *Lalitavistara*[1] Gautama, after receiving his ascetic's robe, is

1. Quoted by Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 3rd ed., reprinted, 1952), pp. 69-70.

entertained at the hermitage of the Brāhmaṇa woman Śākī, then at that of the Brāhmaṇa woman Padmā, and then by the Brāhmaṇa sage Raivata and by Rājaka, son of Trimaṇḍika, until he reaches Vaiśālī and joins Āḷāra. The *Mahāvastu* gives two accounts. According to one,[1] Gautama, after leaving Kaṇṭhaka, paid a visit to the hermitage of Vaśishṭha and then stayed with Ārāḍa before proceeding to Rājagṛiha. Another account[2] says that after leaving the world, Gautama went straight to Vaiśālī without any previous visits, joined Ārāḍa, and after rejecting his teaching went to Rājagṛiha and practised the teaching of Udraka Rāmaputra. The *Therīgāthā Commentary*[3] mentions another teacher of Gautama, named Bhaggava, whom Gautama visited before Āḷāra. In the *Milindapañho*[4] Āḷāra is mentioned as Gautama's fourth teacher. The *Buddha-Charita*[5] mentions Ārāḍa or Āḷāra and gives a brief account of his philosophy.

Although the accounts differ, it appears almost certain that Gautama consulted some Brāhmaṇa philosophers, presumably of the Vajji country, and a famous philosopher of the time, Āḷāra Kālāma, who had his seat at Vaiśālī. Buddhaghosha[6] tells us that in Āḷāra Kālāma, Āḷāra was his personal name and he was so called because he was *dīgha-piṅgala* (long and tawny).

At one place in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*[7] the Buddha describes his visit to Āḷāra who recognised his pupil's eminence and treated him as an equal, but Gautama, not having succeeded in his quest, took leave of Āḷāra to go elsewhere.

Āḷāra Kālāma was one of the two teachers to whom the thoughts of Gautama went after his Enlightenment as the best recipients of his teachings. But by that time the teacher was dead.[8]

1. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 198.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
3. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, p. 2.
4. *Milindapañho*, p. 236 (S. B. E., 36, p. 46).
5. *Buddha-Charita*, XII. 17 ff.
6. D. A., II, p. 569.
7. M., I, pp. 163-165.
8. *Vin.*, I, p. 7. For a discussion on Āḷāra's philosophy see E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1931), pp. 229-230.

(B) THE BUDDHA'S FIRST VISIT TO VAIŚĀLĪ AFTER ENLIGHTENMENT

It is not possible to know how many visits were paid by the Buddha to Vaiśālī, but the books would lead us to infer that they were several.[1]

The Commentaries[2] of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* and the *Mahāvastu*[3] give detailed descriptions of the circumstances of the first visit of the Buddha to Vaiśālī.

Vaiśālī was inhabited by 7707 Rājās, each of whom had large retinues, many palaces and pleasure parks. There came a shortage in the food supply owing to drought, and people died in large numbers. The smell of decaying bodies attracted evil spirits, and many inhabitants were attacked by intestinal diseases. The people complained to the ruling 'prince', and he convoked a general assembly, where it was decided, after much discussion, to invite the Buddha to their city. As the Buddha was then at Veluvana in Rājagṛiha, the Lichchhavi Mahāli, friend of Bimbisāra and son of the chaplain of Vaiśālī, was sent to Bimbisāra with a request that he should persuade the Buddha to go to Vaiśālī. Bimbisāra referred him to the Buddha himself, who, after listening to Mahāli's story, agreed to go.

The Buddha started on the journey with five hundred monks. Bimbisāra decorated the route from Rājagṛiha to the Ganges, a distance of five leagues, and provided all comforts on the way. He accompanied the Buddha, and the Ganges was reached in five days. Boats, decked with great splendour, were ready for the Buddha and his monks, and we are told that Bimbisāra followed the Buddha into the water up to his neck.

The Buddha was received on the opposite bank by the Lichchhavis, with even greater honour than Bimbisāra had shown him. As soon as the Buddha set foot on the Vajjian territory, there was a thunderstorm and rain fell in torrents. The distance from the Ganges to Vaiśālī was three leagues; as the Buddha approached Vaiśālī, Sakka came to greet him, and, at the sight of the Devas, all the evil spirits fled in fear.

1. D. P. P. N., II, p. 942. The *Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer* (p. 139) says that the visits were three, which is wrong.
2. *Kh.A.* (P. T. S.), pp. 160 ff. S. N. A. (P. T. S.), I, pp. 278 ff. *Dh.A.* (P. T. S.), III, pp. 436 ff.
3. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 253-300.

In the evening the Buddha first taught the *Ratana-Sutta* to Ānanda and asked him to go round the city, accompanied by the Lichchhavi princes, reciting the *Sutta* within the three walls of the city and sprinkling water from the Buddha's bowl. This Ānanda did during the three watches of the night, and immediately all the evil spirits fled from the city and the people recovered from their diseases. They then gathered at the Mote-Hall with various offerings and thither they conducted the Buddha. In the assembly were present not only all the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, but also the Devas of two Deva-worlds, with Sakka at their head. The Buddha preached the *Ratana-Sutta* to this great crowd, and 84000 beings were converted.

Because this *Sutta* was first preached to ward off the evil from Vaiśālī, the *Ratana-Sutta*[1] became the most famous of the Buddhist Ward-runes (*Parittās*).[2] The *Sutta* seems also to have been known as the *Gaṅgārohaṇa-Sutta.*[3] The *Sutta* is given in the *Mahāvastu*[4] where it is described as *Svastyayana-gāthā.*

It is said[5] that during this visit the Buddha stayed at Vaiśālī for two weeks, preaching the *Sutta* for seven consecutive days; on each day 84000 beings[6] realised the Truth. The Buddha then left Vaiśālī.

The Lichchhavis accompanied him to the Ganges with redoubled honours, and in the river itself, Devas and Nāgas vied with each other in paying him honour.

On the farther bank, Bimbisāra awaited his arrival and conducted him back to Rājagṛiha. This journey of the Buddha along the Ganges is called Gaṅgārohaṇa. Great

1. One of the *Suttas* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*. It is also included in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (verses 222-238). *Cf. Chūlavaṁsa*, P. T. S., 37. 191 (*Gangārohaṇa-Sutta*).

2. The *Paritta* or *Parittā*, which means protection, is a collection of texts taken from the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, the *Majjhima-Nikāya* and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, and recited on special occasions to ward off illness and danger. The *Milindapañho* (pp. 150-151) gives a list of the chief *Parittas*: the *Ratana-Sutta*, the *Khandha-parittā*, the *Mora-paritta*, the *Dhajagga-parittā*, the *Āṭānāṭiya-parittā*, and the *Aṅgulimāla-parittā* (S. B E, 35, P 213) To these are generally added in the extant collection of *Parittas*, the *Maṅgala-Sutta* and the *Metta-Sutta*. See D. P. P N, II, pp 157-158, 709-710 and *Dialogues*, III, pp. 185-186, 170; *cf. Atharva-Veda*, III. 26-27.

3. *Chūlavaṁsa*, P. T. S., 37. 191.

4. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 290 ff.

5. *Dh.A.*, III, p. 196.

6. The number is traditional.

festivities marked the event of the Buddha's return to Rājagṛiha and the Buddha recited the *Saṅkha-Jātaka* to the monks to explain the unparalleled honours he had received during the journey.[1]

We do not know the exact date of the first visit of the Enlightened One to the Lichchhavi capital. The *Buddha-vaṁsa-Aṭṭhakathā*[2] says that the Buddha visited it in the fifth year after the Enlightenment and spent the *vassa* (rains) there. But from the account given in the Commentaries it appears that the Buddha returned to Rājagṛiha soon. Thus probably this visit may be dated earlier, say the third year after Enlightenment.[3] The author of the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*[4] conjectures that probably it was the year during which king Bimbisāra gifted Veluvana to the Buddha and the Order and the Teacher stayed for two months at Rājagṛiha that at the beginning of the rainy season the Buddha visited Vaiśālī at the request of the Lichchhavis and preached the *Ratana-Sutta*. This means the first year[5] after the Enlightenment. But we feel some time may be given for the Buddha in order to attain fame so that he might attract the attention of the Vaisalians.

(C) THE FOUNDATION OF THE NUNS' ORDER AT VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī is memorable in Buddhist history for the foundation of the Order of Nuns which was laid here. This took place in the fifth year of the Buddha's ministry. The Buddha came to Vaiśālī from Kapilavastu and stayed at the Kūṭāgāra Hall in the Mahāvana. This was the great occasion when Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī, the foster-mother of the Blessed One, came with five hundred other Sakyan women from Kapilavastu, and, through the intercession of Ānanda, obtained permission for women to go forth from the household life and enter the home-

1. For a summary of the *Mahāvastu* account of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī see B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 45-48 and our *Vaiśālī Kī Jhānkī* (Patna, 1953), pp. 38-46.

2. Published in the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series (Colombo), p. 3. Quoted in D. P. P. N., II, p. 940.

3. *Cf.* O. C. Gangoly, *Homage*, p. 14; *Buddhacharyā*, pp. 66-67.

4. D. P. P. N., I, p. 795 and n.

5. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 35.

less state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Buddha. Eight Chief Rules (*Aṭṭha Garudhammā*) were imposed on the nuns and these rules were never to be transgressed. Some details of the Nuns' Order were also fixed up at Vaiśālī.[1]

(D) THE FORMULATION OF VINAYA RULES AT VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī played an important part in the formulation of Vinaya rules of the Buddhist Order because various Vinaya rules are mentioned as having been laid down at this place.[2] This appears to be one of the five principal towns of the time (*viz.*, Śrāvastī, Rājagṛiha, Kauśāmbī, Vaiśālī and Kapilavastu) where the Vinaya rules of the Buddhist Order were framed.[3]

The rules framed at Vaiśālī are of various types, *e.g.*, those pertaining to food, water, cloth, buildings, general living and the like. The things which were prescribed for the Bhikkhus in a time of scarcity were not to continue in the time of plenty.[4] Meat of an animal killed for that purpose and fish caught specially to be given to the Bhikkhus were disallowed to them.[5] Food not given to the monk was not to be accepted by him;[6] nor was he to give food to a naked ascetic (achelaka or Ājīvaka) or a wanderer or a female wanderer.[7] When the Buddha found water at Vaiśālī unfit for drinking purposes, he permitted the use of strainers and filters for the Bhikkhus.[8] On another occasion the Buddha, while on the high road between Rājagṛiha and Vaiśālī, saw a number of Bhikkhus with superfluous chīvaras almost 'smothered up in robes', going along with robes made up into a roll on their heads, or on their

1. For details see S. B. E , 20, pp. 320-334, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. V, tr. Horner (London, 1952), pp. 352-363, and *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Hindi tr. by Rahula Sankrityayana (Banaras, 1935), pp. 519-525.

2. D. P. P. N., II, p. 942. No attempt has, however, been made in this Dictionary or anywhere else to give exhaustive references on this point.

3. For the basis of this generalisation of ours see I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. II, p. xxvi; Vol. III, pp. v, xl.

4. S. B. E., 17, p. 118=Horner, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 326.

5. S. B. E., 17, p. 117 (the story of Sīha, pp. 108-117)=Horner, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 325 (story on pp. 318-325).

6. Horner, Vol II, p. 345. For another rule on the acceptance of meal see *ibid.*, pp 315-319.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

8. S. B. E., 20, pp. 101-102=Horner, Vol. V, p. 163.

backs, or on their waists. Then, after testing the severest winter nights at Vaiśālī by means of personal experience, he fixed the maximum number of robes to be used by the Bhikkhus, *i.e.*, one double waist cloth, one single upper robe and one single under garment.[1] Again it was at Vaiśālī that the great teacher taught the Bhikkhus many matters connected with the sort of houses they were to build and live in.[2] The use of mosquito curtains was allowed after the Bhikkhus had been troubled by mosquitoes.[3] Some important Pārājika rules of the Buddhist Order were framed at Vaiśālī.[4]

Thus we find that the Lichchhavi city had an important share in moulding the Order of the Buddha.

(E) PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM AT VAIŚĀLĪ

The Buddha had many other associations with Vaiśālī and the Vajji country. The vast material available on this aspect in Buddhist literature has been arranged here disciple-wise and place-wise for having a clear idea of the subject.

(1) Important Converts to Buddhism

Buddhism made a ready appeal to the people of Vaiśālī, especially the Lichchhavis. One principal reason of this was that the Buddha had many discourses at Vaiśālī.[5] Consequently many Lichchhavis accepted Buddhism. They put before the Buddha numerous questions about religion and dogma that presented any difficulty to them and "we think that the bringing

1. S. B. E., 17, pp. 210-212. An extra suit of robes was also provided (*ibid*, p. 214; also Horner, Vol. II, pp. 1-11). A rug made of pure black sheep's wool was disallowed to the monk (Horner, Vol. II, p. 74). For some other rules see S. B. E., 20, pp. 110-111 (nakedness prohibited), 114 (towel), 116-117.

2. For this aspect see S. B. E., 17, pp. 119-121 (*Kappiya-bhūmi*); 20, pp. 101-116, 189-191 (*navakamma*).

3. S. B. E., 20, p. 102. Regarding mats, beds scattered over with flowers, perfumes and garlands see *ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

4. For the Pārājika rules, *i.e.*, rules regarding offences involving Defeat (Nos. 1, 3 and 4) framed at Vaiśālī see Horner, I, pp. 1-63, 116-150, 151-191; also *cf. ibid.*, II, pp. 208-211. The rules are interesting, but lack of space prevents us from giving their details.

5. Among the important *Suttas* are the *Mahāli*, *Mahā-Sīhanāda*, *Chūla-Sachchaka*, *Mahā-Sachchaka*, *Tevijja-Vachchhagotta*, *Sunakkhatta* and *Ratana*; also the *Telovāda-Jātaka* (No. 246) and the *Sigāla-Jātaka* (No. 152) were preached at Vaiśālī (D. P. P. N., II, p. 943).

together of all these Lichchhavi questions to the Master will well repay the trouble bestowed upon them."[1] The people of Vaiśālī were meditative and very often dealt with philosophical questions relating to nirvāṇa,[2] the means of attaining nirvāṇa,[3] *dosa, moha, adosa, amoha,*[4] and the influence of the purity of *sila, tapa, etc.*[5] Serious problems relating to the destruction of action, destruction of sensation, *etc.*[6] engaged the attention of the Lichchhavis. They took delight in *jhānas*.[7] Once, when the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, there were 500 Lichchhavis assembled at the Sārandada Chaitya. There was a talk about the five kinds of rare gems, Hatthiratana, Assaratana, Maṇiratana, Itthiratana and Gahapatiratana. The Buddha solved the problem in an unexpected way by speaking of five kinds of precious gems.[8] On another occasion, when the Blessed One was at Vaiśālī, he was worshipped by 500 Lichchhavis arrayed in various coloured garments, ornaments, and trappings. The Lichchhavis gave Piṅgiyāni 500 upper garments, after listening to a gāthā in praise of the Buddha sung by him. Piṅgiyāni offered the Buddha three garments. Then the Buddha spoke of the five rare gems before the Lichchhavis.[9] Such was the influence of the Buddha on the Lichchhavis that even careless boys, wandering about with hounds and bows and arrows, would lay aside their arms when they saw the Buddha seated under a tree and would surround him with clasped hands, eager to hear him—a situation which surprised Mahānāma, a Lichchhavi of rather advanced age.[10] On another occasion some Lichchhavis saluted the Buddha with folded hands as soon as he was seen by them; some sat silent at a distance from the Blessed One.[11] Once a large number of Lichchhavis, when going to see the Buddha who was at Vaiśālī, resounded the Mahāvana with a great tumult of joy on seeing the Buddha, as they were greatly devoted to him and had a strong

1. B C Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 87.
2. S., IV, pp. 261-262.
3. A., I, pp. 220-222.
4. A., II, pp. 190-194.
5. A, II, pp. 200-202.
6. A., I, pp. 220-222.
7. A., V, p. 135.
8. A., III, pp. 167-168.
9. A., III, pp. 239-240.
10. A., III, pp. 75-78 (pp. 62-64 in English translation).
11. M., I, p. 228.

faith in him. This noise so greatly troubled the Bhikkhus that they were unable to proceed with their meditation.[1] The influence that the teachings of the Exalted One exercised upon the fierce Lichchhavis is unique. Of the many stories showing how noble and inspiring were the Blessed One's teachings, we may refer to one indicating how they cured a wicked Lichchhavi prince of the ferocity of his spirit and temper. The magic power of the Buddha's wholesome and edifying lecture had the beneficial effect of removing the arrogance and selfishness of the prince from the core of his heart, which became afterwards full of love and kindness.[2] The Lichchhavis were so very devoted to the Buddha that they are said to have arranged a voyage for him by boat.[3]

We now propose to refer to individual converts to Buddhism which will help us in forming an idea of the progress of Buddhism at Vaiśālī which was, indeed, passing through a great religious upheaval at that time.

1. NANDAKA

Nandaka, a minister (Mahāmātra) of the Lichchhavis, visited the Buddha at the Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī. The Buddha told him that the Ariyan disciple, possessed of unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, and having Ariyan virtues, is assured of enlightenment and happiness. During the conversation, a man came to tell Nandaka that his bath was ready. Nandaka sent him away saying that the inner washing—loyalty to the Buddha—was far more important.[4]

2. SĪHA

Sīha (Sanskrit Siṁha) was a Lichchhavi general of Vaiśālī. He was a follower of the Nigaṇṭhas and one of their most famous patrons, the others being Upāli Gahapati of Nālandā and Vappa, the Sakyan of Kapilavastu.[5]

1. A., V, p. 133.
2. The story is given in the *Jātaka* (No. 149, *Ekapaṇṇa-Jātaka*), Vol. I, pp. 316-317 (Cowell's edition).
3. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 55-56.
4. S., V, p. 389.
5. A. A., II, p. 751.

When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, Sīha having heard reports of his greatness, wished to see him, but Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta dissuaded him, saying that Gautama denied the result of actions and was not worth a visit. But in the end, accompanied by five hundred chariots, he went to the Buddha. Having discovered in conversation with the Buddha that he was falsely accused of preaching wrong doctrines, Sīha declared himself to be the Buddha's follower. The Buddha accepted his adherence on condition that he would continue to give alms to any Nigaṇṭhas who sought them at his house. This generosity made Sīha honour the Buddha even more highly.[1]

There are two discussions, in more or less identical terms, in which Sīha asks the Buddha a philosophical question and gets the reply.[2]

3. AJITA

He was a general of the Lichchhavis and a follower of the Buddha. Immediately after his death he was born in Tāvatiṁsa (realm of the Thirty-and-three) ; he visited the Buddha to refute a statement made about him by the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta to the effect that he had been born in the Mahāniraya (Great Purgatory) as a result of having followed the teaching of the Buddha.[3]

4. DUMMUKHA

He was a Lichchhavi chieftain. He was present at the discussion of the Nigaṇṭha Sachchaka with the Buddha, and seeing Sachchaka discomfited in the debate, Dummukha compared him to a crab pulled out of a pond and ill-treated by village boys.[4]

The Commentary says that Dummukha just happened to be his name. He was in reality quite handsome.[5]

5. MAHĀLI

Mahāli was a Lichchhavi chief. He was educated at Takkasilā. After his return to Vaiśālī, he devoted himself to

1. *Vin.*, I, pp. 233 ff. A., IV, pp. 179-188. See also *Telovāda-Jātaka*.
2. A., III, pp. 38-40. A., IV, pp. 79-82.
3. D., III, pp. 15-16. D. A., III, p. 825.
4. M, I, p. 234.
5. M.A., I, p. 459.

the education of the young Lichchhavi men, but, through overexertion, lost his sight. He continued to instruct them, however, and was given a house by the gate which led from Sāvatthī into Vaiśālī. The revenue from this gate, worth one hundred thousand, was given to him.[1]

When Bandhula came to Vaiśālī to satisfy the pregnancy-longings of his wife Mallikā, Mahāli, hearing the rumble of his chariot, instantly recognised it. He warned the Lichchhavis not to interfere with Bandhula, and, finding that they insisted on pursuing him, urged them to turn back when they saw Bandhula's chariot sink up to the nave, or at least when they heard a sound like the crash of a thunderbolt, or when they saw a hole in the yokes of the chariot. But they paid no heed to his warnings and were killed.[2]

When the Lichchhavis decided to invite the Buddha to Vaiśālī to rid the city of its plagues, Mahāli it was who went with the son of the Purohita to Veluvana (Rājagṛiha) to intercede with Bimbisāra, that he might persuade the Buddha to come. Mahāli was a favourite of Bimbisāra and a member of his retinue. He had attained Sotāpatti at the same time as the Magadhan king.[3]

On two occasions[4] there were philosophical discussions between Mahāli Lichchhavi and the Buddha who removed his doubts. Mahāli visited the Buddha at the Kūṭāgāraśālā to ask if he had seen Sakka.[5]

This Mahāli is perhaps identical with the Mahāli mentioned in the *Apadāna*[6] as the father of Sīvalī. His wife was Suppavāsā.

There was one Lichchhavi whose personal name was Mahāli, but he was called Oṭṭhaddha because he had a hare-lip.[7] He went to visit the Buddha at the Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī at a time when the Buddha had given orders that no one should be allowed to see him; but through the intervention of the novice

1. *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 338.
2. *Ibid*., I, pp. 350 ff. J., IV, p. 94 (Cowell's edition).
3. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 438.
4. A., V, pp. 86-87. S., III, pp. 68-70.
5. S., I, p. 230. *Dh. A.* (I, pp. 263 ff) adds that the Buddha here related to him the story of Magha.
6. *Apadāna*, II, p. 494 (verse 28).
7. D. A., I, p. 310.

Sīha, Oṭṭhaddha was admitted to the Buddha's presence with a large retinue of followers, all splendidly adorned in various ways. There was a long conversation on spiritual matters.[1] Buddhaghosha calls Oṭṭhaddha a rājā. We do not know if this Oṭṭhaddha Lichchhavi was the same as had received education at Takkasilā.

Mahāli is called Mahā-Lichchhavi in *Dhammapada* (p. 219).[2]

6. MAHĀNĀMA

He was a Lichchhavi. He saw a number of Lichchhavi youths sitting by the Buddha at the foot of a tree in the Mahāvana at Vaiśālī; he expressed his joy at the sight for, he said, the Lichchhavis were usually so mischievous. The Buddha thereupon told Mahānāma of five things the practice of which would lead to progress.[3]

It was probably this Mahānāma[4] who was the father of Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī.

7. AMBASAKKHARA

He was one of the Lichchhavi chieftains of Vaiśālī during the Buddha's time. He was a nihilist by persuasion. Once while going through the city he saw a beautiful woman. Wishing to possess her, he commandeered her husband's services. The husband was helped by a *peta* (spirit) and thus the attempt was foiled. Consequently Ambasakkhara was converted to the Faith, and, after having listened to a sermon by Kappitaka, became a Sotāpanna.[5]

8. SĀLHA

When the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, a Lichchhavi named Sālha and another Lichchhavi named Abhaya approached the Buddha. Sālha questioned the Buddha regarding the way that

1. D., I, pp. 150-158.
2. Quoted in Cowell : *Jātaka*, IV, p. 94, n. 1. The word (*Mahā-li*), according to some, may also mean 'the great lion' (J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 262, foot-note).
3. A., III, pp. 75-78.
4. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 15 ff.
5. *Petavatthu*, P. T. S., 45-57. *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, P. T. S., pp. 215-244.

was made by purity of morals and that made by self-mortification. The Buddha answered the question with many similes.[1] We are not told that either of the Lichchhavis became converts on this occasion.

9. ABHAYA

As mentioned already, once Abhaya accompanied Sālha to the Buddha who explained the implications of the Ariyan way.[2]

On another occasion he came with another Lichchhavi, Paṇḍitakumāraka, to Ānanda in the Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī, and discussed with him certain views held by Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. Ānanda taught him the Buddha's three ways of purification.[3]

He was sent by his teacher Nātaputta to confuse the Buddha.[4]

At another place[5] he propounds the views of Purāṇa Kassapa, who was an ahetu-vādin, a 'no-cause-theorist.'

10. PAṆḌITAKUMĀRAKA

He was a Lichchhavi who, with Abhaya, visited Ānanda at the Mahāvana in Vaiśālī and held a discussion regarding ascetic practices.[6]

11. BHADDIYA

He was a Lichchhavi who visited the Buddha at the Kūṭāgāraśālā and asked if it were true that the Buddha was a magician who, by a glamorous trick, enticed away the followers of others. The Buddha advised Bhaddiya not to be led away by hearsay but to judge for himself; and he then proceeded, by means of question and answer, to convince Bhaddiya that his teachings were truly founded on fact and, if accepted and practised, would benefit not only human beings but the very trees of the forest.[7]

1. A., II, pp. 200-202 (pp. 211-214 in English translation). Also see D., II, p. 91 and *Kindred Sayings*, V, p. 312.
2. A., II, pp. 200-202.
3. A., I, pp. 220-222.
4. M., I, p. 392.
5. S., V, p. 126 (p. 107 in *Kindred Sayings*, V).
6. A., I, pp. 220-222.
7. A., II, pp. 190-194.

The Commentary adds[1] that at the conclusion of the discourse, Bhaddiya became a Sotāpanna.

12. AÑJANA-VANIYA THERA

Añjana-vaniya was born at Vaiśālī in the family of a rājā of the Vajjians. During his adolescence, the three-fold panic of drought, sickness and non-human foes affected the Vajjian territory. Afterwards the Exalted One put a stop to the panic and addressed a great concourse and preached the *Ratana-Sutta*. Hearing his discourse the prince won faith and left the world. After passing through the preliminary training, he settled in the Añjana wood at Sāketa. When the rains drew near, he got a castaway conch and built over it a hut of grass and engaged himself in a strenuous study for one month. Then he won Arahantship.[2]

13. RAMAṆĪYAKUṬIKA THERA

He was a nobleman of Vaiśālī and left the world after hearing the Buddha preach the *Ratana-Sutta*. After ordination he dwelt in a pleasant hut in a beautiful forest, where he won Arahantship. One day some women tried to tempt him, but in vain.[3]

14. PIYAÑJAHA THERA

He belonged to the family of a Lichchhavi nobleman of Vaiśālī. When he grew up his chief interest was war, hence his name ("ever destroying what is dear to his enemies").

When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, Piyañjaha found faith in him, joined the Order and became an Arahant, dwelling in the forest.[4]

15. VASABHA THERA

He belonged to the family of a Lichchhavi rājā of Vaiśālī and joined the Order when the Buddha visited that town,[5]

1. A. A., II, p. 558.
2. *Theragāthā*, verse 55 and Commentary, I, pp. 127 ff. *Psalms of the Brethren* (P. T. S.), p. 56.
3. *Theragāthā*, verse 58. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, pp. 122 ff.
4. *Theragāthā*, verse 76. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, pp. 168 ff. Also *Apadāna*, I, 161.
5. *Theragāthā*, verses 139-140. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 257 ff. According to another source he was born in Sāvatthī and was ordained under Sāriputta at the age of seven (*Apadāna*, II, 437 ff).

winning Arahantship in due course. Out of compassion for his patrons, he enjoyed what he received from them; the common-minded thereupon deemed him self-indulgent.

16. VAJJIPUTTA THERA (No. 1)

He belonged to the family of a minister of Vaiśālī, and seeing the majesty of the Buddha who visited the city, he joined the Order and lived in a wood near by. A festival took place in Vaiśālī, with much singing and dancing and gaiety. This distracted Vajjiputta, and he expressed his disgust in a verse spoken in scorn of the forest-life. After his conversation with the woodland sprite, he sought the Buddha, who preached to him. He attained Arahantship at the end of the Buddha's sermon.[1] His story is given at another place also.[2]

17. VAJJIPUTTA THERA (No. 2)

Vajjiputta or the son of the Vajjis belonged to a Lichchhavi rājā's family, and while still young, and learning various arts, such as training elephants, was filled with the desire for renunciation. One day he went to a vihāra where the Buddha was preaching, entered the Order, and not long after became an Arahant.

After the Buddha's death, when the Chief Elders were living in various places prior to their agreed meeting for the recital of the Dhamma, he saw Ānanda, still a learner, teaching the Doctrine to a large assembly. Wishing to urge him to higher attainment, Vajjiputta uttered a verse, and this verse was among them which led to Ānanda's attainment of Arahantship.[3]

18. KUṬIVIHĀRĪ THERA

He was the son of a nobleman in the Vajji country. Having heard the Buddha preach the *Ratana-Sutta* he left the world. One day, while striving after insight, he was caught in the rain

1. *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā*, verse 62. *Cf.* S., I., pp. 201 ff.

2. *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā* (P. T. S.), III, pp. 460 ff. See also S. A., I, p. 228, where also he is called rājā. There may be confusion between Vajjiputta (1) and (2).

3. The verse is found in *Theragāthā* (verse 119). In S., I, p. 199 the verse is attributed to a forest deva who wished to agitate Ānanda. In Rockhill, pp. 155 ff, Vajjiputta was Ānanda's attendant at the time and preached to the people while Ānanda meditated.

and sought shelter in a wood-man's hut. As soon as he sat down there on a mat, he became an Arahant. The Buddha, having heard by virtue of his divine ear the conversation between the monk and the watch-man, uttered verses of approbation. The monk was so called because he obtained insight in a hut. He is probably identical with Udakapūjaka Thera of the *Apadāna*.[1] The reason for such speculation is that in the past he had given cool water to Padumuttara Buddha.[2]

19. VAḌḌHAMĀNA THERA

He belonged to a Lichchhavi rājā's family in Vaiśālī and was a devoted follower of the Buddha, delighting in waiting upon him and in making gifts to the monks. Later, because of an offence he had committed, the Buddha passed on him a sentence of punishment. He was much grieved and sought the forgiveness of the Saṅgha,[3] and, because of his agitation, he renounced the world and joined the Order. But he was given up to sloth and torpor, till the Buddha admonished him in a verse.[4] He then put forth effort and became an Arahant.

20. VIMALA KOṆḌAÑÑA THERA

He was the son of Ambapālī and Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha. Vimala was his earlier name, but later he came to be called Vimala Koṇḍañña. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, Vimala was impressed by his majesty and entered the Order, attaining Arahantship soon afterwards.

A sermon preached by Vimala helped Ambapālī to develop insight and win Arahantship.[5]

21. SĪVALĪ THERA

He was the son of Suppavāsā, daughter of the king of

1. *Apadāna*, I, 142 ff.

2. *Theragāthā*, verse 56. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, pp. 129 ff.

3. He is probably identified with Vaḍḍha though no mention is made of Vaḍḍha having entered the Order.

4. This verse is found in the *Theragāthā* (verse 40); elsewhere (*Theragāthā*, verse 1162) this verse is ascribed to Moggallāna as having been spoken by him to a monk named Tissa and again repeated (verse 1163) by him to Vaḍḍhamāna.

5. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 207.

Koliya. According to the *Apadāna* account[1] his father in his last birth was the Lichchhavi Mahāli.

From the time of his birth Sīvalī could do anything. Sāriputta talked with him on the day of his birth and ordained him with Suppavāsā's permission. Sīvalī ultimately attained Arahantship.

Sīvalī was declared by the Buddha as pre-eminent among the recipients[2] (of benefits or blessings).

22. AMBAPĀLĪ

A Lichchhavi named Mahānāma of Vaiśālī found a child at the foot of a mango tree in his garden and brought it up as Ambapālī. She grew up so full of beauty and of grace that many young princes vied with one another for the honour of her hand. Finally, in order to end their strife, they appointed her as a courtesan.

In the *Theragāthā*[3] there are two verses which, according to tradition, were spoken by Ānanda in admonition of monks who lost their heads at the sight of Ambapālī. Whether this was before or after she joined the Order we are not told.

It is said that when Ambapālī heard of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī, she and her retinue drove to meet him and, after hearing a discourse, invited him and the monks to a meal the next day. The Buddha accepted this invitation and had as a result to refuse that of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.[4] It was after this meal that Ambapālī gave over her park, the Ambapālivana, to the Buddha and the Order. She had already built a vihāra in her own garden which she gave to the Buddha and the Order. The Buddha accepted the gift and stayed there for some time before going on to Beluva.[5]

Ambapālī had a son Vimala Koṇḍañña, who was an eminent Elder. Having heard him preach one day, she

1. *Apadāna*, II, 492 ff.
2. A., I, p. 20. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 437.
3. *Theragāthā*, verses 1020-1021. *Theragāthā Commentary*, II, p. 129.
4. The Commentary says that just before Ambapālī's visit to him, the Buddha admonished the monks to be steadfast and mindful, lest they should lose their heads about her (D. A., II, p. 545).
5. *Vin.*, I, pp. 231-233; D., II, pp. 95-98. The two accounts vary in details, *e.g.*, in the *Digha* version the Buddha was already in Ambapālivana and not in Koṭigāma when the courtesan visited him,

renounced the world and working for insight by studying the law of impermanence as illustrated in her own ageing body, she attained Arahantship.[1]

Nineteen verses ascribed to her are found in the *Therīgāthā*.[2]

23. SĪHĀ THERĪ

Sīhā, a daughter of the sister of the Lichchhavi general Sīha, was born at Vaiśālī at the time of Gautama Buddha. She was called Sīhā after her maternal uncle, Sīha.

She heard one day the Buddha preach to Sāriputta and entered the Order with her parents' consent. For seven years she tried, without success, to concentrate her mind. Then she tied a noose round her neck and fastened the end to a tree, and in this position she compelled her mind to gain insight. Then she loosened the noose. At last she won Arahantship.[3]

24. VĀSIṬṬHĪ THERĪ

Vāsiṭṭhī was born in a clansman's family at Vaiśālī. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal position. She bore a son. The child died very young, and his mother was mad with grief. One day she ran away from home, and, in the course of her wanderings, came to Mithilā, where she saw the Buddha, who calmed her grief. He taught her the Doctrine and had her ordained at her own request. She soon after became an Arahant.[4]

25. JAYANTĪ

Jentī (Sanskrit Jayantī) or Jentā was born in a princely family of the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī. She won Arahantship after hearing the Dhamma preached by the Buddha.[5]

26. SUPPAVĀSĀ KOLIYADHĪTĀ

Suppavāsā was the daughter of the rājā of Koliya.[6] Her

1. *Therigāthā Commentary*, verses 206-207.
2. *Ibid*, verses 252-270
3. *Therigāthā*, verses 77-81. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 79. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 53-54.
4. *Therigāthā*, verses 133-138. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 124 ff. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 79-80.
5. *Therigāthā*, verses 21-22. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 27 ff. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 23-24.
6. J., I, p. 242 (Cowell's edition).

husband was the Lichchhavi Mahāli.[1] She was the mother of Sīvalī.

She was described by the Buddha as foremost among them who gave excellent alms.[2]

She is included in a list of eminent upāsikās[3] and is mentioned[4] with Anāthapiṇḍika, Chulla-Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, as givers of gifts which were gladly accepted by the monks.

27-30. SACHCHĀ, LOLĀ, AVAVĀDAKĀ AND PAṬĀCHĀRĀ

A Nigaṇṭha and a Nigaṇṭhī, who were given to argument and disputation and were Lichchhavis according to the context, married at Vaiśālī and had four daughters, *viz.*, Sachchā, Lolā, Avavādakā and Paṭāchārā and a son named Sachchaka. These five children were also great disputants. One day the four sisters engaged in a dispute with Sāriputta at Sāvatthī. Having been defeated all the four female ascetics joined the Order and became Arahants.[5]

31. UGGA

He was a householder of Vaiśālī, declared by the Buddha to be the best of those who gave agreeable gifts.[6]

His original name is not known. He came to be called Ugga-Seṭṭhi, because he was tall in body, lofty in morals and of striking personality.[7]

The first time he saw the Buddha he became a Sotāpanna and later an Anāgāmī.

When he was old, the thought came to him one day while he was alone, "I will give to the Buddha whatever I consider most attractive to myself and I have heard from him that such

1. *Apadāna*, II, p. 494 (verse 28); but see A. A., I, 244 where her husband is described as a Sakyan noble.

2. A., I, p. 23.

3. A., IV, p. 348.

4. *Dh. A.*, I, p. 339; in this context she is spoken of as living in Sāvatthī; this was probably after Mahāli went to live there. *Cf. Dh. A.*, IV, pp. 193 ff.

5. J., III, pp. 1-2 (Cowell's edition).

6. A., I, p. 22.

7. D. P. P. N., I, p. 334.

a giver obtains his wishes. I wish the Buddha would come to my house now". The Buddha, reading his thoughts, appeared before his door with a following of monks. He received them with great respect and, having given them a meal, announced to the Buddha his intention of providing him and the monks with whatever they found agreeable.[1]

While staying at the Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī, the Buddha once declared to the monks that Ugga was possessed of eight marvellous qualities. The rest of the story is very similar to that of Ugga of Hatthigāmaka.[2]

We possess a list of things of which Ugga himself was fond.[3] We are told that he offered these things (which included muslin from Banaras) to the Buddha and also to five hundred monks (according to the Commentary). He died soon after and became an Arahant.

32. KIRAPATIKA

He was a householder of Vaiśālī and a pious follower of the Buddha. He was a man of charitable disposition.[4] Buddhaghosha says[5] that the householder's name was Kira, but that he was called Kirapatika on account of his great influence. He gave his workmen regular and generous wages.

33. KOSALAVIHĀRĪ THERA

He was born in Vaiśālī and was one of those who heard the Buddha preach when he came to quieten the panic which arose there, as recorded in the *Ratana-Sutta*. After the sermon Kosalavihārī left the world. At the conclusion of his novitiate he dwelt in a forest near a village in Kosala. A lay adherent seeing him camping under a tree built for him a small hut, and there the Thera attained Arahantship. He acquired his name from having dwelt long in Kosala.[6]

1. A. A., I, pp. 213-214.
2. A., IV, pp. 208-212. *Cf.* a similar confusion between these two Uggas in S , IV, pp. 109 ff. This is perhaps due to uncertainty on the part of the compilers as to which Ugga was meant.
3. A., III, pp. 49-51.
4. *Vin.*, IV, pp. 75 ff.
5. *Samantapāsādikā*, IV, p. 817.
6. *Theragāthā*, verse 59. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, pp. 134 ff.

34. VALLIYA THERA

He belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī, and was named Gaṇḍimitta (*v. l.* Kaṇhamitta). Much struck by the Buddha when he came to Vaiśālī, he joined the Order under Mahā-Kachchāyana. Because he was dull of insight and depended too much on his colleagues, he was called Valliya (creeper), like the ivy which must lean on something in order to grow. Later, following the advice of Venudatta Thera, he developed insight.[1]

He is probably identical with Chandanamāliya of the *Apadāna*.[2]

35. SUYĀMA (SUYĀMANA) THERA

He belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī and was expert in three *Vedas*. He saw and heard the Buddha at Vaiśālī, and, having entered the Order, attained Arahantship while his head was being shaved.[3]

He is evidently identical with Kusumāsaniya of the *Apadāna*.[4]

36. ROHIṆĪ THERĪ

She was the daughter of a prosperous Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, she heard him preach and became a Sotāpanna, taught the Doctrine to her parents, and, with their permission, entered the Order, where she became an Arahant.

The *Therīgāthā*[5] contains a set of verses spoken by her in exaltation, when, after becoming an Arahant, she recalled to mind the discussion she had had with her father while she was yet a Sotāpanna.

It is said[6] that the last stanza of the series was spoken by her father, who later himself joined the Order and became an Arahant.

1. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 292 ff; two verses addressed by him to Venudatta are included in the *Theragāthā* (167-168).
2. *Apadāna*, II, 423 ff.
3. *Theragāthā*, 74; *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 165 ff.
4. *Apadāna*, I, 160.
5. Verses 271-290. *Cf. Therīgāthā Commentary*, 219 ff.
6. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 219 ff.

37. VIMALĀ THERĪ

She was the daughter of a courtesan of Vaiśālī. Having one day seen Moggallāna begging in Vaiśālī for alms, she went to his dwelling and tried to entice him. The Elder rebuked and admonished her, and she became a lay follower and later entered the Order. Then, after great effort, she became an Arahant.[1]

38. THERIKĀ

She was born in a family of Vaiśālī and was so called because of her sturdy mind. She married and became a devoted wife, accepting the Buddha's teaching, after hearing him preach at Vaiśālī. Later she heard Prajāpatī Gautamī and wished to leave the world, but her husband refused his permission. One day, while cooking she developed the thought of impermanence, and became an Anāgāmī. When her husband realised this, he took her to Prajāpatī, who ordained her.[2]

A barber of Vaiśālī is indicated as a true believer, sheltered in the Three Refuges (the Buddha, the Law and the Order of Brethren) and from time to time he would listen to the Master's discourses.[3]

Thus several sections of the population of Vaiśālī responded to the call of Śākyamuni.

(2) Important Buddhist Sites

We have reviewed above the progress made by Buddhism in the various sections of Vaisalian population. Now we propose to examine important Buddhist sites at Vaiśālī because without this our review would remain incomplete.

We begin from the north and the north-west.

1. THE MAHĀVANA

This was a forest which is said to have stretched right up to the Himālayas as Buddhaghosha explains in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Commentary to the *Mahāli-Sutta* in the *Dīgha-*

1. *Therīgāthā*, verses 72-76. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, pp. 76 ff.
2. *Therīgāthā*, verse 1. *Therīgāthā Commentary* p. 5.
3. *Jātaka* No. 152 (Vol. II, p. 4 in Cowell's edition).

Nikāya). In commenting upon the word 'Mahāvana', he says: "Outside the town lying in one stretch up to the Himālayas, there is a natural forest which on account of the large area covered by it is called Mahāvana"[1] (lit. 'Great Forest'). We may not accept the verdict of Buddhaghosha that it stretched uninterruptedly up to the Himālayas, because in that case a good part of the Vajji country would be covered with forests. Probably it was so vast that an impression was created on the visitor that it must have extended up to the Himālayas. This forest provided a good field for Lichchhavi hunters and elephant-tamers and for Buddhist meditators who did not fail to utilise it. The famous Kūṭāgāraśālā, where the Buddha often stayed, was constructed here. Near by were other forests, such as Gosiṅgasālavana.[2]

It may be pointed out that forests bearing the name Mahāvana existed also near Kapilavastu and Uruvelakappa and on the banks of the Nerañjarā.[3]

2. THE KŪṬĀGĀRAŚĀLĀ

It was in the Mahāvana or the Great Forest that the Kūṭāgāraśālā, the famous monastery where the Buddha used to stay and preach, was situated. According to the Northern books,[4] the Kūṭāgāraśālā was on the bank of the Monkey Tank or Monkey Lake (*Markaṭahrada-tīre*). The hall lay from north to south and faced east.[5] There was shade in front of the house.[6]

Buddhaghosha offers a comment explaining the origin of the name Kūṭāgāra: "In that forest (*i.e.*, Mahāvana) was established a saṅghārāma or monastery. A pāsāda or a storeyed building was built on pillars and putting a pinnacle above, it was made into a Kūṭāgāraśālā resembling a chariot of the gods (*deva-vimāna*). From it, the whole saṅghārāma or monastery

1. D. A. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*), P. T. S., I, p. 309. *Cf.* M. A., I, p. 298.
2. A., V, pp. 133-134.
3. D. P. P. N., II, pp. 555, 454.
4. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 136 200. *Mahāvastu*, I, 300 (by implication). *Avadāna-Śataka*, ed. Speyer, Bib. Buddh., p. 8.
5. D. A., I, p. 311. *Dialogues*, I, p. 197, n., however, says that the storied house faced the west.
6. *Dialogues*, I, p. 199: "Very well, Sīha, spread out a mat for me in the shade in front of the house."

is known as Kūṭāgāraśālā".[1] This agrees with the description of the double-galleried vihāra, given by Fa-hien.[2] Part of the monastery consisted of a storeyed house with a hall below surrounded only by pillars instead of walls. These pillars held the gabled room which formed the main part of the Buddha's Gandhakuṭī there. On the top there was a kūṭa or peak, so that there were two galleries, one below and the other above, and from the upper storey rose a pinnacle as we see in the *vimānas* or *rathas* referred to by Buddhaghosha.

The real meaning of the Kūṭāgāra was not correctly understood in the beginning. It does not mean "an upper room, an apartment on the top of a house" or "an upper chamber". Really speaking, it was a building having a roof ending in a point. Thus the proper translation of the word will be "point-house, house with a point."[3] It cannot be mere chance that the kūṭāgāra is especially mentioned at a breath with prāsāda,[4] of which it may be considered as it were the architectonic complement, the prāsāda being characterised over against the kūṭāgāra by its flat roof.

It was customary for the Buddha, when staying at the Kūṭāgāraśālā, to spend the noonday siesta in the woods outside the Mahāvana at the foot of a tree; visitors coming at that time would, if their desire to see him was insistent,[5] seek him there or be conducted to him. Sometimes he would express his desire to see no one during such a retreat except the monk who brought him food.[6]

On some occasions the Buddha would walk from the Kūṭāgāraśālā to places of interest in the neighbourhood, *e.g.*, the Sārandada Chetiya[7] and the Chāpāla Chetiya.[8]

1. D. A. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*), P. T. S., I, p. 309. Quoted in Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 53.
2. Beal, Vol. I, p. lii.
3. K. de Vreese, 'Skt. Kūṭāgāra', *India Antiqua*, pp. 323-325, esp. p. 324. Compare the *Nīlamata* passage (ed. Leyden, pp. 857 ff; ed. Lahore, pp. 1028 ff) which has Kūṭāgāra and Koṭimandira that settle the question (Vreese, *op. cit.*, p. 325).
4. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1 (S. B. E., 17, p. 171).
5. See, *e.g.*, D., I, p. 151; A., III, pp. 75-78.
6. D. P. P. N., I, p. 660.
7. A., III, pp. 167-168.
8. S., V, p. 258. A., IV, pp. 308, 309, 311. Also *cf.* D., II, 102-103, 118 (*Dial.*, 110-111, 125-126).

Many of the Buddha's immortal discourses were delivered at Vaiśālī at Kūṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana.

3. THE GILĀNA-SĀLĀ (GLĀNA-ŚĀLĀ)

There was a sick-ward attached to the Kūṭāgāraśālā, where the Buddha would often visit the patients and talk with them.[1] Once he told a sick monk that by practising five things during illness one could be sure of the speedy destruction of the *āsavas*.[2] On another occasion his advice was that a monk should meet his end collected and composed.[3]

4. THE MARKAṬA-HRADA (MONKEY TANK)

There was a tank known as Markaṭa-hrada or Monkey Tank on whose bank was situated the Kūṭāgāraśālā.[4] This may be identified with the present small tank, called Ram-kund, on the basis of the account of Hiuen Tsiang[5] who says: "By the side of it (*i.e.*, a stūpa built by Aśokarāja) is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank. This was dug by a band of monkeys (*Markaṭa-hrada*) for Buddha's use. When he was in the world of old, Tathāgata once and again dwelt here." The same authority[6] adds that not far to the south of this tank was a stūpa where the monkeys, taking the alms-bowl of Tathāgata, climbed a tree and gathered him some honey. Not far to the south was a stūpa which was the place where the monkeys offered the honey[7] to the Buddha. At the north-west angle of the lake Hiuen Tsiang found a figure of a monkey.[8]

5. THE CHAITYAS

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī built many chaityas inside

1. A., III, p. 142 (*Gradual Sayings*, III, p. 109). S., IV, pp. 210 ff.
2. A., III, p. 142. *Cf. Giri-Sutta* or *Girimānanda-Sutta*, A., V, pp. 108-112 preached at Jetavana (Śrāvastī).
3. S., IV, pp. 210 ff.
4. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 136, 200. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300 (by implication). *Avadāna-Śataka*, p. 8.
5. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
7. This scene is also found at Sanchi on a pillar (pl. xxvi, fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). Beal thinks that the pillar was the work or gift of the Vaiśālī people (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 74).
8. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

and outside their great city and with great liberality and magnanimity they delivered over the best among them to the Buddha and the Buddhist Church.[1] That these chaityas were beautiful and fine buildings where one might prefer to dwell as long as one liked, even to the end of the kalpa, appears from a passage in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*[2] where the Buddha, while staying at the Chāpāla Chaitya, said about each of the chaityas that it was charming and then suggested to Ānanda that Tathāgata might be inclined to live there for a kalpa or the remaining part of a kalpa, meaning perhaps that in such beautiful surroundings life would be pleasant and worth living.

The names of the following Vaisalian chaityas are preserved in Buddhist literature:—Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sārandada, Chāpāla, Markaṭahrada and Kapinahya.

About the location of most of these we have some indications in Buddhist literature itself:

A naked ascetic residing at Vesālī, named Kandaramasuka, had taken upon himself seven rules of life. Four of these were that he would never go beyond the Udena shrine on the east of Vesālī, the Gotamaka shrine on the south, the Sattamba shrine on the west, and the Bahuputta shrine on the north.[3] This passage indicates the position of these shrines or chetiyas at Vaiśālī.

The Markaṭahrada Chaitya was situated on the Monkey Tank (Markaṭa-hrada) itself,[4] while the Sārandada[5] and Chāpāla[6] Chaityas were close to it.

We take up each chaitya now. For the first six chaityas mentioned in the *Nikāyas*, we have followed the order given in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*[7] itself.

(a) THE UDAYANA CHAITYA

It was situated in the east of Vaiśālī[8] and was considered one of the beautiful spots of that town.[9]

1. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 299-300.
2. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 110-111, 124-125.
3. *Dialogues*, III, p. 14.
4. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.
5. A., III, pp. 167, 168.
6. S., V, p. 258. A., IV, pp. 308, 309, 311. Also *cf.* D., II, pp. 116-118, 102-103.
7. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 110, 125, 124-125; III, p. 14.
8. D., III, p. 9 (*Dialogues*, III, p. 14).
9. D., II, pp. 102, 103, 117, 118. S., V, p. 260. A., IV, p. 309.

Rhys Davids conjectures that these chaityas were probably trees or barrows.[1] The *Dhammapada Commentary*[2] describes the Udena and the Gotamaka shrines as *rukkha-chetiyāni* to which men pay homage in honour to have their wishes fulfilled. The *Digha-Nikāya Commentary*[3] says that in the Buddha's time a vihāra had been erected on the spot where this shrine stood and that this vihāra had previously been dedicated to the Yakkha Udena. As the chaitya was situated in the eastern direction, we feel tempted to suggest that possibly it might have been so called because of its being in the direction of sun-rise.[4]

(b) THE GOTAMAKA CHAITYA

It was situated in the south of Vaiśālī[5] and was considered one of the beautiful spots of that town.[6] The Buddha stayed there several times, particularly during the first years of his ministry.[7] During one such stay he laid down the rule which allowed the monks the use of three robes; he himself felt cold during the night and had to wear extra clothing.[8] The *Gotamaka-Sutta* was preached here.[9]

The shrine was pre-Buddhistic and dedicated to a Yakkha named Gotamaka. A vihāra was later built on the spot for the Buddha and the monks.[10]

The *Divyāvadāna*,[11] in a list of noted places of Vaiśālī, speaks of a Gautama-nyagrodha (Chaitya). The reference is evidently to this chaitya. We have abundant references to tree-worship in Buddhist literature and art.

We do not know why this chaitya was so named. Accord-

1. *Dialogues*, II, p. 110, n. 1. But see Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 74 ff.
2. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 246.
3. D. A., II, p. 554. A. A., II, p. 784. *Udāna Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 323.
4. *Udaya* literally means 'rise'.
5. D., III, p. 9 (*Dialogues*, III, p. 14).
6. *E. g.*, D., II, pp. 102, 118.
7. Thus A. A., I, p. 457.
8. *Vin.*, I, p. 288; III, p. 193.
9. A., I, pp. 276 ff. And according to some, also the *Hemavata-Sutta* (*Sutta-Nipāta Commentary*, I, p. 199).
10. *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 322. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 246. A. A., I, p. 457. S. N. A., I, p. 344.
11. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 201.

ing to the Commentaries[1] it was after a Yaksha. But we may not necessarily accept this explanation. The existence of a chaitya bearing the name Gautama has peculiar importance for the Vaiśālī-Videha region, especially because the priest Gotama Rahūgaṇa was associated with the colonisation of the territory east of the Sadānīrā[2] (*i.e.*, Gandak) and the Gotamas acted as priests of the Videhan kings.[3] The Gautamas were famous Vedic teachers.[4] It is possible these 'Gautama' scholars might have something to do with it. Again, the Gotamakas were a class of ascetics, enumerated in a list of such classes.[5] Rhys Davids[6] thinks that they were almost certainly the followers of some other member of the Śākya clan as distinct from the Buddha and suggests that it might have been Devadatta or possibly a Brāhmaṇa of Gotama gotra. We should not feel surprised if it is discovered that the Gotamakas had one of their seats at Vaiśālī. And if it is so, the chaitya might have something to do with them. It has also been suggested[7] that the chetiya may have been called after the Kāla (Kaṇha) Gotama Nāgas[8] of the Himālayas,[9] but in the opinion of a Buddhist scholar the suggestion appears far-fetched.[10]

(c) THE SAPTĀMRAKA CHAITYA

The Sattamba or Sattambaka Chetiya[11] (Skt. Saptāmraka Chaitya) was situated in the west of Vaiśālī.[12]

1. See *supra*.
2. *Śat. Br.*, I. 4. 1. 10-19.
3. *Śat. Br.*, I 4. 1. 10 and XI. 4. 3. 20 (by implication); also *Rām*, I. 50. 6; 51. 1-2 One such Gautama had his wife Ahalyā (*Rām*, I. 48-49).
4. See *Vedic Index*.
5. A., III, p. 276 (bottom).
6. *Dialogues*, I, p. 222.
7. J. P. T. S., 1891, p. 67. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 68. *Cf.* J., II, p. 145.
8. *Vin.*, II, p. 109 (a list of four royal families of Nāgas).
9. S. A, III, p 120 (says that all Nāgas have their young in the Himālayas).
10. D. P. P. N., I, p. 811. We have only pointed out the lines for tackling the problem and do not insist on any particular suggestion. It may be added in passing that the chaitya is generally associated with non-Aryan worship and for this reason the Gotamaka Chaitya may represent a fusion of non-Aryan and Aryan elements in the field of religion.
11. D., II, p. 102; *Udāna*, VI. 1 (refers to the beauty of principal Vaisalian chaityas); S., V, p. 259; A., IV, p. 309 (refers to the beauty of principal Vaisalian chaityas); *Divyāvadāna*, p. 201 (gives a list of noted places of Vaiśālī) *etc.*
12. D., III, p. 9.

It was so called because, in the past, seven princesses, daughters of Kikī, king of Banaras,[1] left Rājagaha and fought for attainment at that spot.[2] Possibly there were seven mango trees there lending their name to the shrine.

It was originally dedicated to some deity, but after the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī, it became a place of residence for him.[3]

(d) THE BAHUPUTRAKA CHAITYA

It was a shrine in the north of Vaiśālī.[4]

The Buddha is said to have stayed there.[5]

It was a pre-Buddhistic shrine and according to the Commentaries[6] was a many-branched nigrodha tree where persons prayed to the deva of the tree for having 'several sons.' Hence its name.[7]

(e) THE SĀRANDADA CHAITYA

It was a shrine of pre-Buddhistic worship at Vaiśālī; but its location is not exactly known. It was probably somewhere near the Kūṭāgāraśālā.[8]

It was dedicated to the Yakkha Sārandada, but, later, a vihāra was erected on the site for the Buddha and his Order.[9]

Two of the most important sermons of the Buddha were delivered at this chaitya, *viz.*, the seven things which would ensure the welfare of the Vajjians and prevent them from falling,[10] and the five treasures in the world.[11]

(f) THE CHĀPĀLA CHAITYA

The Chāpāla Chaitya was once the residence of the

1. *Cf.* names like Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā of the *Mahābhārata*.
2. D. P. P. N., II, p. 1010.
3. *Ud. A.*, p. 323, *etc.*
4. D., III, p. 10.
5. D., II, 118. *Udāna*, VI. 1. S., V, p. 259.
6. *E. g.*, *Ud. A.*, p. 323; S. A., II, p. 128, *etc.*
7. There was another Bahuputtaka-nigrodha on the road from Rājagriha to Nālandā (see D. P. P. N., II, p. 273 for references).
8. A., III, pp. 167, 168.
9. D., II, pp. 75, 102, 118. *Udāna*, VI. 1. D. A., II, p. 521. *Udāna Commentary*, p. 323. A. A., II, p. 701.
10. A., IV, pp. 16-27; repeated in D., II, pp. 72-81; former preaching referred to in D., II, p. 75.
11. A., III, pp. 167-169.

Yakkha Chāpāla, but, later, a vihāra was erected on the site for the use of the Buddha.[1] It is stated[2] that during the first twenty years of the Buddha's ministry, he sometimes dwelt in the Chāpāla Chaitya.

It was here that the Buddha, three months before his Mahāparinirvāṇa, definitely decided to accede to the request of Māra that he should die. When he announced this decision the earth shook.[3] This event might have happened on the full-moon day of Māgha, just three months before the Buddha's Great Decease.[4]

The name of the chaitya "is probably either from *Chapalā* (Sans.), 'a loose woman', and thus alludes to the concubine spoken of by the pilgrims; or from *chāpa ālaya* (Sans.), 'the bow-place where the bow was deposited'."[5]

(g) THE MARKAṬAHRADA CHAITYA

A chaitya was situated on the bank of the famous Monkey Tank.[6] This might refer to the Kūṭāgāraśālā as the *Divyāvadāna*[7] expressly states that the Kūṭāgāraśālā was situated on the bank of the Monkey Tank (*Markaṭahrada-tīra*) at Vaiśālī.

(h) THE KAPINAHYA CHAITYA

A chaitya of this name is also said to have existed at Vaiśālī at that time.[8]

6. AMBAPĀLĪ-VANA

It was a grove in Vaiśālī planted with mangoes and was so called because it belonged to Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī.[9] It was presented by her to the Buddha and his Order during his last visit to that town at the conclusion of the meal to which Ambapālī had invited him.[10] But both the

1. *Udāna Commentary*, pp. 322 ff. Supported by *Divyāvadāna*, p. 207.
2. A. A., I, p. 457.
3. D., II, pp. 102 ff. A., IV, 308-313. S., V, pp. 259 ff. *Udāna*, VI. 1. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 200-208.
4. Already suggested by Rahula Sankrityayana, *Homage*, p. 25.
5. Hoey, J. A. S. B., 1900 (quoted in *Saran District Gazetteer*, p. 137).
6. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.
7. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 136, 200.
8. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.
9. D. A., II, p. 545.
10. *Vin.*, I, pp. 231-233. But according to the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 300) it was presented to the Buddha in his first visit to Vaiśālī.

Buddha and the monks seem to have stayed there previously during their visits to Vaiśālī.[1]

The Buddha is stated to have preached some *Suttas* in the grove.[2] The *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* also records a conversation that took place between Anuruddha and Sāriputta during a stay in Ambapālivana.[3]

The identification of Ambapālivana is as knotty a problem today as it was in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, who were shown by their guides totally irreconcilable sites for the garden of Āmrapālī (Ambapālī). Fahien places the garden of Āmrapālī where we should expect to find it, a little to the south of the city, and he adds that it was situated to the west of the road from Pāṭaliputra. He does not mention any stūpa or monument as marking the site. Hiuen Tsiang was shown a stūpa on the alleged site of the garden, which he places at a short distance to the south of the "stūpa of the last look," and consequently to the west of the city.[4] Fahien explicitly records that "inside the city the woman Ambapālī built a vihāra in honour of the Buddha, which is now standing as it was at first." As to the position of the garden, V. A. Smith feels that Hiuen Tsiang seems to have been misinformed and that Fahien correctly places it to the south of the city on the west side of the road from Pāṭaliputra.[5]

7. BĀLIKĀCHHAVI OR VĀLUKĀRĀMA

Bālikā, a lady of Vaiśālī, made over Bālikā-chhavi to the Buddha and his Order.[6] This is evidently the same as the Bālikārāma of the Pali Buddhist books[7] and may be identical with the Vālukārāma where a hundred years after the death of the Buddha the second Buddhist Council was held. Hiuen Tsiang places this about 2¼ miles to the south-east of the city and says that the site was marked by a "great stūpa."

1. Thus according to D., II, p. 94 the Buddha was already in the grove before Ambapālī visited him; see also S., V, p. 301 which might refer to an incident before the Buddha's last tour, because Sāriputta was still alive.
2. S., V, pp. 141-148. A., IV, pp. 100-106. *Cf Mahāvastu*, II, p. 293.
3. S., V, p. 301.
4. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 280-281.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
6. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.
7. *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 408.

Fahien, with much greater probability, locates the Council stūpa close to the Kūṭāgāra or "double-galleried vihāra where the Buddha dwelt". The site of the Council hall was, therefore, according to the information given to the earlier pilgrim, close to the Aśoka pillar, which was probably erected there for that reason.[1]

8. BELUVAGĀMAKA

It was a village near Vaiśālī, where the Buddha spent his last rainy season.[2] He fell grievously ill during this period, but, by a great effort of will, overcame his sickness. It was at this time that the Buddha, in answer to a question by Ānanda, said that he had kept nothing back from his disciples and had no special instructions for the Order to follow after his death. Each disciple must work out his own salvation.[3]

Ānanda is also mentioned as having stayed at Beluvagāmaka after the Buddha's death. The householder Dasama of Aṭṭhakanagara sought him there, and their conversation is recorded in the *Aṭṭhakanāgara-Sutta.*[4]

Beluva was a small village, and when the Buddha was there the monks stayed in Vaiśālī. Beluva was just outside the gates of Vaiśālī[5] and was to the south of this city.[6]

The *Theragāthā*[7] states that Anuruddha died at Veluvagāma in the Vajji country. This probably refers to Beluvagāma.[8]

9. KAPINACHCHANĀ

It was a locality probably near Vaiśālī, where lived the Thera Kappitaka, teacher of Upāli.[9] It was so called because

1. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 281.
2. This was ten months before his death (S. A., III, p. 198). According to the Commentaries (*e. g., Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, 322; S. A., III, 172) the Buddha did not go straight from Beluva to Vaiśālī, but turned back to Sāvatthī.
3. D., II, pp. 98-101. S , V, pp. 151 ff.
4. M., I, pp. 349-353. A., V, pp. 342-347.
5. S. A., III, p. 165.
6. M. A., II, p. 571.
7. *Theragāthā*, verse 919.
8. Our account of Beluvagāmaka is based on D. P. P. N., II, pp. 313-314.
9. *Petavatthu*, P. T. S., p. 50.

monkeys and men used to dance there.[1] Kapinachchanā may have been a name for the cemetery near Vaiśālī where Kappitaka lived.[2]

10. KALANDAKAGĀMA

It was a village near Vaiśālī. It was the birth-place of Sudinna[3] who is called Kalandakaputta on account of his native village and not of his father.[4] This Sudinna became a monk, who, after being ordained, returned to his former wife and had relations with her, thus becoming guilty of the first Pārājikā offence.[5] The son was called Bījaka, and so Sudinna came to be known as Bījakapitā and the mother Bījakamātā. Both Bījaka and his mother later left the world and became Arahants.[6]

Buddhaghosha[7] says the name of the village was given because of the squirrels who lived there. It should not be confused with Kalandakanivāpa, a woodland in Veluvana at Rājagṛiha.[8]

(F) PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN THE VAJJI COUNTRY

We now propose to review the progress of Buddhism in important centres in Vajji excluding Vaiśālī. In this we shall proceed towards the north from the Ganges which formed the boundary between Magadha and Vajji.

(1) The Buddha and Buddhism at Ukkāchelā

Ukkāchelā was a place in the Vajji country on the bank of the Ganges, on the road from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī and near

1. *Petavatthu Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 231.
2. *Vin.*, IV, p. 308.
3. *Vin.*, III, p. 11.
4. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 202.
5. *Vin.*, III, pp. 11-21.
6. *Vin.*, III, pp. 17-19. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, pp. 215 ff.
7. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 202.
8. This completes the list of Buddhist sites. Other important ites of Vaiśālī not connected with Buddhism but noticed or treated in this book are the Santhāgāra (the Parliament House), the Abhisheka-maṅgala-pushkariṇī (the Coronation Tank) and the Parivrājakārāmas.

the latter.[1] Buddhaghosha[2] says that when the city was being built, on the day its site was marked out, fish came ashore at night from the river, and men, noticing them, made torches (*ukkā*) out of rags (*chelā*), dipped them in oil, and by their light caught the fish. On account of this incident the city was called Ukkāchelā (*v. l.* Ukkachelā, Ukkāvelā). Rahula Sankrityayana[3] is inclined to identify this with Hajipur (in Muzaffarpur district) which is situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak. This seems to be correct because it is on the road from Magadha to Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī and is opposite Patna.

The Buddha preached his *Chūla-Gopālaka-Sutta*[4] here in which he refers by way of the simile to the cowherds taking their cattle from Magadha to Videha after having crossed the Ganges.

Once while Sāriputta was staying at Ukkāchelā the Paribbājaka Sāmaṇḍaka visited him and asked him about nibbāṇa. Sāriputta explained to Sāmaṇḍaka the meaning of nibbāṇa and the way thereto.[5]

Some time later, after the death of Sāriputta and Moggallāna within a fortnight of each other,[6] the Buddha came to Ukkāchelā on his way to Vaiśālī and at a gathering of the monks uttered high praise of the two chief disciples and spoke of the loss the Order had sustained by their death.[7]

(2) The Buddha and Buddhism at Koṭigāma

Koṭigāma was a village of the Vajjians.[8] It was one *gāvuta* distant from the Ganges.[9] The Buddha went there from Sāvatthī and Bhaddiyanagara.[10] It was a league from Payāga;[11]

1. *Udāna Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 322.
2. M. A., I, p. 447.
3. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 483, n. In his Hindi translation of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Banaras, 1933) he says (p. 136, n.) "Possibly Sonepur or Hajipur (Bihar)".
4. M., I, pp. 225 ff. *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Hindi translation), pp. 136-137.
5. S., IV, pp. 261 ff.
6. The *Aṭṭhakathā* explains that Dharma-Senāpati (=Sāriputta) died on the full moon day of Kārtika and Mahāmoggallāna fifteen days later on the uposatha of the black fortnight, *i.e.*, amāvasyā (quoted in *Buddhacharyā*, p. 483, n.).
7. S., V, pp. 163 ff.
8. S., V, p. 431. Watters, II, p. 86.
9. *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*, P. T. S., p. 560.
10. Cowell : *Jātaka* No. 264, Vol. II, pp. 229-230.
11. D. P. P. N., II, p. 30.

but if it is so, this Payāga must be situated either in the Vajji country or quite close to it and may be a place at or near Hajipur or Sonepur. Buddhaghosha says[1] that the village was so called because it was built near the dome (*koṭi* or *thūpikā*) of Mahāpanāda's palace. From the account of the last tour of the Buddha[2] we know that Koṭigāma was one of the two halts, the other being Nādika, between the Ganges and Vaiśālī. "Travellers in India whose journey begins with the crossing of a great river are always glad to make their first halt as near as possible to the further bank of the river. The ancient town of Hajipur, which stands on the eastern bank of the Gandak river and the northern bank of the Ganges at a distance in a direct line of six or seven miles from Patna, is still the first halting-place for the traveller proceeding north from Patna. We may be quite certain that Koṭigrāma, the first camping-ground of the Buddha, was at or close to Hajipur".[3] The view seems to us reasonable. Jacobi[4] finds it "highly probable that the Koṭiggāma of the Buddhists is identical with the Kuṇḍaggāma of the Jainas." "Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the Ñātikas, apparently identical with the Jñātṛika Kshatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Sīha, the Jaina, point to the same direction."[5] In our opinion, however, Koṭigāma cannot be Kuṇḍagrāma, because the points of similarity are more apparent than real. Koṭigāma was near the Ganges, while Kuṇḍagrāma was not so. The latter was quite close to or a part of Vaiśālī City, while there lay Nādika, an important camping-ground, between Koṭigāma and Vaiśālī. The geographical situation cannot possibly be overridden by any other factor like similarity in name. Hence we feel that either the village is washed away by the Ganges or its name was changed in the Muslim period.[6]

1. D. A., II, p. 542; III, p. 856.
2. *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, pp. 94, 96, 97, 100).
3. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 269.
4. S. B. E., 22, p. xi.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Cf.* John Christian, 'On Some Names of Places in Bihar: Their Origin and History', *Calcutta Review*, 1891, p. 40 : "About 65 per cent of the villages in the Hajipur subdivision bear names of Muhammadan origin. Even the names of different *mahallas*, or wards, in the town of Hajipur (which was said, at one time, to be twenty miles across from east to west, and eight miles from north to south) have a Moslem ring, principally of Pathan origin.":

Koṭigāma was important in Buddhist literature because of the miracle of Bhaddaji[1] in raising up the sunken palace of Mahāpanāda in the Ganges, that was seen by Nanduttara, a Brāhmaṇa of Koṭigāma. Here it was that the *Vijjā-Sutta*[2] was preached to the Vajjians. During his last tour the Buddha crossed the river Ganges at Pāṭaligāma, went on to Koṭigāma, and remained in that village preaching to the monks. Hearing that the Buddha was there, Ambapālī and hosts of Lichchhavis came from Vaiśālī to visit him and Ambapālī gave him a meal. From Koṭigāma the Buddha went to Nādika.[3]

(3) The Buddha and Buddhism at Nādika (Ñātika)

Nādika or Ñātika (the two more prevalent readings of the name)[4] was a locality in the Vajji country on the highway between Koṭigāma and Vaiśālī.[5] The name has many readings, *e.g.*, Nādita, Nādika, Nātikā, Nātika and Ñātika.[6] The doubt as to the spelling of the name seems to have existed from quite early times, as the apparent confusion of the etymology leads us to believe.[7] In his commentary of the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* Buddhaghosha[8] says that Ñātika was so called because of its being a village of the Nātakas. In his commentary of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* the same writer[9] says that the place was called Nādika because it was near the pond Nādikā.[10] Rhys Davids[11] thinks that Nādikā (plural) was a clan-name and Nādika (singular) the name of the clan's village. Woodward[12] also supports the reading Nādika, and suggests that the name is connected with *nadī*.

1. J., II, pp. 332 ff. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 287 ff. *Mahāvaṁsa* XXXI. 5 ff.
2. S., V, p. 431.
3. *Vin.*, I, pp. 230 ff. D., II, pp. 91 ff.
4. D. P. P. N., I, p. 977.
5. *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*.
6. D. P. P. N., I, p. 976. For Nāṭikā see A., IV, p. 320. It is called Na-t'e or Nataka in Chinese literature (Watters, II, p. 86).
7. D. P. P. N., I, p. 977.
8. S. A., II, p. 56.
9. D. A., II, p. 543.
10. M. A., II, p. 424 definitely states that the name of the pond was also Nādikā.
11. *Dialogues*, II, p. 97, n. 1.
12. *Gradual Sayings*, III, p. 217, n. 4.

Where was Nādika or Ñātika situated ? V. A. Smith[1] makes a reasonable suggestion with regard to it : "Lālganj, situated twelve miles from Hājīpur and eight from Basāṛ, is now the principal village intermediate between those two places, and Nadiyāgrāma should be looked for in the vicinity of Lālganj". He further hopes that careful local enquiry would probably find the names Koṭigrāma and Nadiyāgrāma surviving in slightly modified forms.[2]

Nādika or Ñātika, though presumably inhabited by the Jñātṛika Kshatriyas to which clan Mahāvīra belonged, cannot be identified with Kuṇḍapura because Kuṇḍapura lay in the north while Ñātika lay between Koṭigāma and Vaiśālī and therefore south of the Lichchhavi capital. It may be suggested that while at Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura all kinds of Kshatriyas lived, at Ñātika only the Jñātṛis or Jñātṛikas lived and thus lent their name to the locality. If the suggestion is accepted, it has to be admitted that the Jñātṛikas too, like the Lichchhavis, were interested in river-trade.

The Buddha first went to Ñātika in the course of one of his tours, and the inhabitants, being greatly attracted by him, built for him a residence entirely made of bricks (*giñjakā*), hence its name (Giñjakāvasatha). Later residences were also built for the monks, complete with all requirements. The bricks were evidently a special architectural feature and this confirms the belief that buildings were generally of wood. The "Brick Hall" was, however, not designed for the Buddha and his monks alone, for we find mention of members of other sects staying there, *e.g.*, the Paribbājaka Sabhiya Kachchāna.[3] The building was probably a public resting place for all kinds of travellers.

If the *Suttas* preached by the Buddha at a particular place be a guide to knowing the progress of Buddhism there, we may say that Buddhism made more progress at Nādika than at Koṭigāma or even Ukkāchelā. Probably the facility provided

1. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S, 1902, p. 269.

2. Rahula Sankrityayana's contention that Nādika was "probably modern Jethardih, Masrakh, District Saran" (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, Hindi, p. 127) has no basis. He says so because he wants to identify the Jñātṛikas with the modern Jethariyā Brāhmaṇas (*Purātattvanibandhāvali*, pp. 107-114) and thus already presumes what he has to prove. On another occasion (*Buddhacharyā*, p. 493, n. 2) he equates Nādikā with Ratti Pargana of Muzaffarpur district.

3. S., IV, p. 401.

by the Giñjakāvasatha ("Brick Hall") to the Buddhist preachers might have been a factor for this, because in the matter of nearness to a river, all places occupy this advantage. Another favourable factor for Ñātika seems to be its nearness to Vaiśālī, which became a stronghold of Buddhism. The existence of Gosiṅgasālavanadāya, a *sāl* forest (*cf.* Mahāvana, the "Great Forest", near Vaiśālī), provided a place of solitude so necessary for pious meditations.

The Buddha stayed at Ñātika several times during his visits. In the Giñjakāvasatha the Buddha preached the *Chūla-Gosiṅga-Sutta*,[1] the *Janavasabha-Sutta*,[2] and several discourses on *maraṇasati*,[3] also the sermons to the Elder Sandha of the Kachchānagotta[4] and the Elder Kachchāyana.[5] There were other *Suttas*[6] also on different topics which were preached at Ñātika. Mention may also be made of a discussion between Sabhiya Kachchāna and Vachchhagotta.[7]

The Buddha also visited Ñātika on his last journey, while on his way to Kusinārā, and was staying there on the day that he accepted Ambapālī's hospitality and her gift of the Ambapāli-ambavana.[8] It was evidently during this stay that Ānanda questioned the Buddha as to the lot of various pious inhabitants of Ñātika who had been zealous followers of the Buddha's teaching. Among them several are mentioned by name—the monk Sālha, the nun Nandā, the lay disciple Sudatta, the devout lady Sugatā, the lay disciples Kakudha, Kāliṅga, Nikaṭa, Kaṭissabha, Tuṭṭha, Santuṭṭha, Bhadda and Subhadda. The Buddha tells Ānanda of their destiny, and informs him that more than fifty devout men in Nādika also had a similar fate, that more than ninety devout men of Nādika had become Sakadāgāmins and more than five hundred devout men of Nādika Sotāpannas. He then proceeds to proclaim the discourse which has become famous as the Dhammādāsa (Mirror of

1. M., I, pp. 205-211. *Cf. Vin.*, I, pp. 350 ff.
2. D., II, pp. 200 ff.
3. *E g.*, A., III, pp. 303-306; pp 306-308; pp. 391-392; IV, pp. 320-322.
4. A , V, pp. 322-326.
5. S., II, pp. 153 ff. See also S., II, p. 74; IV, p. 90.
6. *Giñjakāvasatha-Sutta* (S., II, p. 153; V, pp. 356 ff). *Ñātika-Sutta* (S., II, p. 71; repeated at S., IV, p. 90). A., IV, pp. 316 ff.
7. S., IV, pp. 401 ff.
8. *Vin.*, I, pp. 232 ff.

Truth).[1] The *Janavasabha-Sutta*,[2] which was also preached at Ñātika, is evidently based on this incident and is probably an elaboration of the same.

In the *Giñjakāvasatha*, *Janavasabha* and *Mahāparinibbāna Suttas*[3] the Buddha is represented as having answered questions regarding the destiny and the rebirth of several residents of Nādika. "Does this perhaps mean that the people of Nādika were more interested in this problem than the people of other places?"[4]

Near Nādika or Giñjakāvasatha was Gosiṅgasālavanadāya, a *sāl* forest, which was a solitary place useful for meditation. Here it was that the *Chūla-Gosiṅga-Sutta*[5] was preached by the Buddha. The *Mahā-Gosiṅga-Sutta*,[6] preached at Gosiṅgasālavanadāya,[7] was also done probably here. There was one Gosiṅgasālavanadāya near Vaiśālī also.[8] Hence it may be suggested that either the Gosiṅgasālavanadāya forest was situated between Nādika and Vaiśālī or a part of the Mahāvana forest (which extended to the north of Vaiśālī) was also given this name[9] due to its peculiar characteristics in which case there would be two Gosingasālavanadāya forests in the Nādika-Vaiśālī region.

(4) The Buddha and Buddhism at Places North-West of Vaiśālī

One special feature of the life of the Vajjian State was the existence of many important places along the Ganges and the Gaṇḍaka rivers. We have already seen cases like Ukkāchelā, Koṭigāma and Nādika, till we arrive at Vaiśālī. Even beyond Vaiśālī in the north-western direction the area was dotted with

1. D., II, pp. 91 ff (*Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*). S., V, pp. 356 ff (*Giñjakāvasatha-Sutta*) also records what is evidently the same incident. Two additional names, Asoka and Asokā, occur in the *Saṁyutta* passage.
2. D., II, pp. 200 ff (*Janavasabha-Sutta*).
3. See the two preceding notes.
4. D. P. P. N., I, pp. 764-765.
5. M., I, pp. 205-211.
6. M., I, pp. 212-219.
7. Location of this is not indicated.
8. A., V, p. 133.
9. Both the forests are indicated as close to each other (*ibid.*).

such places. The *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta,* which preserves the account of the last year of the Buddha's life, mentions five such places, *viz.*, Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambūgāma and Bhoganagara. It is difficult to identify them, but it may be presumed that these villages or towns were named after the things they abounded in, *e.g.*, stores or pots, elephants, mangoes, blackberries and things of amenities (or named after the Bhoga clan, one of the clans inhabiting the Vajjian territory). One thing, however, which appears to be almost certain, is that these places were situated either on or close to the Gaṇḍaka river.

We shall now take up each place one by one.

1. BHAṆḌAGĀMA

This was a Vajjian village between Vaiśālī and Hatthigāma and near the former. The Buddha visited it during his last tour, and while there he talked to the monks on four conditions which lead to the nibbāṇa: righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom and freedom.[1]

2. HATTHIGĀMA

This was a village on the road from Vaiśālī to Bhoganagara.[2] It is described as a village of the Vajjians.[3]

It was famous as the residence of Ugga Gahapati, who, among the householders, was declared by the Buddha to be the best of those who waited on the Order.[4] On his father's death he was appointed to the post of Seṭṭhī.

Once when the Buddha went to Hatthigāma during a tour and was staying in the Nāgavanuyyāna there, Ugga came to the pleasance and heard the preaching of the Buddha after which he devoted his life to looking after members of the Saṅgha. All monks became recipients of his gifts.[5]

The Buddha once stated that Ugga was possessed of eight special and wonderful qualities.[6]

1. D., II, 123. A., II, pp. 1 ff.
2. *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, p. 133).
3. D. P. P. N., II, p. 1318.
4. A., I, p. 23 (with f. n.).
5. A. A., I, pp. 214-215.
6. A., IV, pp. 212-216.

The *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*[1] records a visit paid to the Buddha by Ugga at Hatthigāmaka. He asked the Buddha why it was that some beings attained full freedom in this very life, while others did not. Because of grasping, said the Buddha.

On his last journey the Buddha again rested in the village[2].

It appears from the name that there were many elephants in the village and in the near by forest. There was a Nāgavana as well here belonging to Ugga where the Gahapati first met the Buddha and was converted.[3]

3. AMBAGĀMA

This village was situated on the road from Vaiśālī to Kusinārā and was visited by the Buddha in the last journey of his life.[4]

As the name indicates, the village seems to have abounded in mango trees.

4. JAMBŪGĀMA

Further north-west to Ambagāma lay Jambūgāma which was visited by the Buddha in the last year of his life.[5]

The name may suggest that there were many trees of blackberry here.

5. BHOGANAGARA

It was a village in the Vajji country[6] where the Buddha stayed on his last journey in the Ānanda Chetiya. In this chaitya, which had originally been dedicated to a Yakkha named Ānanda and was later converted into a Buddhist vihāra[7], the Buddha preached a sermon on the four *Mahāpadesā* (the "Great Authorities").[8]

1. S., IV, pp. 109 ff.
2. D., II, p. 123.
3. A., IV, p. 213. A.A., II, p. 762.
4. D., II, p. 123.
5. *Ibid.*
6. D. P. P. N., II, p. 393.
7. A. A., II, p. 550.
8. D., II, pp. 123-126. A., II, pp. 167-170.

From Bhoganagara he went on to Pāvā[1]. As we cannot identify Bhoganagara, we are unable to say at what *ghat* in Champaran district the Buddha crossed the Gaṇḍaka to enter the Malla country.[2]

Bhoganagara was one of the places passed by Bāvarī's pupils on their way to Rājagriha. It lay between Pāvā and Vaiśālī.[3]

(G) THE BUDDHA'S LAST ASSOCIATIONS WITH VAIŚĀLĪ

As stated before, the Buddha passed some time in the last year of his earthly life at Vaiśālī and in the Vajji country.[4] His last rainy season was spent here.[5] Again, it was at Vaiśālī that he announced his coming death.[6] He left this city with a deep sigh[7] and handed over his alms-bowl to the bemoaning Lichchhavis.[8] He died at Kusinagara on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha.

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī claimed a share in the earthly remains of the Buddha after the latter's death. They got a share which was taken to Vaiśālī. A cairn was made over the remains of the Exalted One and a feast was celebrated.[9]

Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist pilgrim from China, who visited this place a little over 1100 years after this event, gives the following account of the Buddha's Relic Stūpa erected by the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī[10]:—

"To the south-east of this last spot[11] is a *stūpa*; this was

1. D., II, p. 126.
2. He might have crossed the *ghat* which is near Bettiah or Bagaha; because only these two *ghats* appear to be more important today than the rest.
3. *Sutta-Nipāta*, P. T. S., verse 1013.
4. Detailed in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* and the Commentaries.
5. *Dialogues*, II, p. 106.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 131. Also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 208-209.
8. This is mentioned by Fahien (*Buddhist Records*, I, p. lii).
9. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 187-190.
10. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 67.
11. This refers (*ibid.*) to a saṅghārāma of the Saṁmatīya school, which was "north-west of the royal city (*precincts*) 5 or 6 li", and two stūpas that were close to it ("by the side of it" and "to the east of this").

built by a king of Vaiśālī. After the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, a former king of this country obtained a portion of the relics of his body, and to honour them as highly as possible raised (*this building*).[1]

"The records of India state: In this *stūpa* there was at first a quantity of relics equal to a "*hoh*" (ten pecks). Aśoka-rāja opening it, took away nine-tenths of the whole, leaving only one-tenth behind. Afterwards there was a king of the country who wished again to open the *stūpa*, but at the moment when he began to do so, the earth trembled, and he dared not proceed to open (*the stūpa*)".[2]

In March, 1958, "a flat low *stūpa* was excavated by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, who identified it with one of the original relic-*stūpas* of the Buddha built by the Lichchhavis"[3] in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.

1. "The Lichhavis of Vaiśālī obtained a share of the relics of Buddha, and raised over them a *stūpa*. The scene found at Sāñchi (pl. xxviii. fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*) probably refers to this *stūpa* and its consecration."—Foot-note by Beal (*ibid.*, foot-note no. 72).

2. After this Hiuen Tsiang describes (*ibid.*, pp. 67-68) the famous stone pillar which we quote here in order to indicate the exact location of the Buddha's Relic Stūpa at Vaiśālī : "To the north-west is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank."

3. Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations : 1950* (Vaiśāli, 1961), p. 2. Also noticed in *Indian Archaeology, 1957-58*, pp. 10-11. For A. S. Altekar's articles on the discovery of the stūpa of the Lichchhav is over Buddha-Relics and its analysis see *The Indian Nation* (Patna), April 12, 1958, *The Searchlight* (Patna), April 17, 1958, *The Hindustan Times* (Delhi), May 11, 1958 (Sunday), the *Āryāvarta* (Patna), May 18, 1958 (Sunday), *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), July 13, 1958 and *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, pp. 501-511 (article entitled 'The Corporeal Relics of the Buddha'), esp. pp. 505-511 where the recent find at Vaiśālī has been discussed. The find-spot is in village Harpur and is to the north of the Kharauna Pokhar which is believed by the local people to have been the Coronation Tank of the Lichchhavis.

CHAPTER XVI

MAHĀVĪRA AND JAINISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

Jainism is closely associated with Vaiśālī in its early history, especially because Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara and the main promoter of Jainism, was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī. We do not propose here to present a detailed biography of Mahāvīra as it is well-known.[1] Instead, we would take up here only three things in detail, *viz.*, the date of Mahāvīra, the identification of Mahāvīra's birth-place and the progress of Jainism in the Vaiśālī region in the life-time of Mahāvīra.

THE DATE OF MAHĀVĪRA

The date of Mahāvīra, like that of the Buddha, occupies a very important place in ancient Indian chronology; but it has not attracted as much attention of scholars as the date of the Buddha. Indeed, after Jarl Charpentier considered the problem in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1914 and the *Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, in 1922, H. C. Seth was the only scholar to take it up seriously in recent times and suggest a new date based on the Buddhist tradition.[2] We intend to suggest here a new date for Mahāvīra but it is not completely new in the sense that it is based on the Buddhist tradition. We shall put this date to suitable tests with a view to examining its correctness. These tests will also, however, be based mainly on the Buddhist tradition itself which has rightly come to be regarded as very reliable for ancient Indian history.

Generally speaking, two dates of Mahāvīra's death hold the field. They are:—

1. See now an exhaustive list of the biographies of Mahāvīra published in modern times in English, Hindi and Gujarati in Vijayendra Suri's splendid Hindi work *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1960), pp. xxxii-xxxiv. Its bibliography spreads over 23 pages (pp. xxiii-xlv).
2. See *infra* for references.

(1) 527 B. C. (Hoernle,[1] Guérinot),[2] and
(2) 467 B. C. (Jacobi,[3] Charpentier).[4]

(A) The date 527 B. C. is based on the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vīra and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Bühler[5] and after him discussed by Jacobi. The English translation of the verses, which is taken from Bühler, is as follows:—

"Pālaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which Arhat and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. (1).

"Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of *Pūsamitta* [Pushyamitra]. (2).

"Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovāhana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka. (3)."

Thus there was a gap of 60+155+108+30+60+40+13+4=470 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the end of Śaka rule (*i.e.*, victory of Vikrama).

This date (or 528 B. C. according to those authorities who regard 58 B. C. as the starting point of the Vikrama era) is wholly rejected by Charpentier on the following grounds[6]:—

1. "The Jainas themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahāvīra and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jaina church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahāvīra had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful" (p. 155).

1. A. F. R. Hoernle, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, pp. 39 ff.
2. Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1906, p. VII.
3. H. Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879; introductions to S. B. E., Vols. 22 (Oxford, 1884) and 45 (Oxford, 1895); 'On Mahāvīra and His Predecessors', *Ind. Ant.*, 9, 1880, pp. 156 ff.
4. J. Charpentier, 'The Date of Mahāvīra', *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 118-123, 125-133, 167-178; chapter 6 in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1922), esp. pp. 155-156.
5. 'Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra?' in *Ind. Ant.*, 2, pp. 362-363.
6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 155-156. [These points are found in a developed form in *Ind. Ant.*, 1914.]

2. "The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death on which the Jainas base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B. C., *i.e.*, 528 B. C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.C.; but

[a] the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other kingdoms; and

[b] some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented" (p. 15˘).

3. "Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B. C., it would exclude every possibility of Mahāvīra having preached his doctrine at the same time as Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B. C." (pp. 155-156).

4. "Finally, both Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha whom the Jainas call Kūṇika, and the Buddhists Ajātaśatru; and he began his reign only eight years before Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahāvīra died in 528 B. C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kūṇika" (p. 156).

H. C. Raychaudhuri[1] furnishes some additional arguments for rejecting this date:—

1. "In the first place, it is at variance with the testimony of Hemachandra, who places Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa only 155 years before Chandragupta Maurya" (p. 85).

2. "Again, some Jaina texts place the Nirvāṇa 470 years before the *birth* of Vikrama and not his *accession*, and as this event, according to the Jainas, did not coincide with the foundation of the era of 58 B. C. attributed to Vikrama, the date 528 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death can hardly be accepted as representing a unanimous tradition" (p. 85).

If we study the details of the list of kings and dynasties provided by Merutuṅga, we find the following irregularities as well:—

1. The reign-periods of certain dynasties and kings are completely unacceptable, *e.g.*, a total of 155 years has never been

1. Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd ed. (London, 1950), Part I, chapter 6 by H. C. Raychaudhuri, esp. pp. 85-86

allowed to the Nandas by any tradition. With a view to defending the Jaina tradition, it may be argued that possibly the list indicates the reign-periods of kings and dynasties who ruled over Ujjain and not Magadha. But even in that case, such a long period for the Nandas cannot be defended.[1]

2. The Great Satrap Nahapāna, who is usually identified with Nabhovāhana of the tradition, flourished after Vikrama according to competent authorities. Inclusion of such a post-Vikrama figure in this Jaina tradition renders it all the more valueless.

3. As is well-known, the story of Vikrama and the end of Śaka rule is of much later growth. Kielhorn[2] long ago proved that the connection of the era commencing 57 B. C. with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of '*Vikrama Saṁvat*' being made in an inscription at Dholpur of *Saṁvat* 898=A. D. 842. Hence any tradition which incorporates this story must be used with great caution.

(B) The second date of Mahāvīra's death, *i.e.*, 467 B. C., is based on a tradition recorded by the great Jaina author Hemachandra (A. D. 1088-1172), who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra Chandragupta became king (*Sthavirāvalīcharita, Pariśishṭaparvan*, VIII. 339). As pointed out by Charpentier,[3] who, like Cunningham and Max Müller, believes that the Buddha's nirvāṇa took place in 477 B. C. (and not in 487 B. C. as we believe), this date has some good points in its favour:—

1. The Buddha (d. 477 B. C.) and Mahāvīra (d. 467 B. C.) become contemporaries.

2. Ajātaśatru becomes the contemporary of both the teachers.

3. This is in keeping with the Jaina tradition of Hema-

1. "Not only is the number of years (155) allotted in the gathas to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Pālaka, lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Māgadha kings looks very suspicious" (Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 8).

2. 'Examination of Questions Connected with the Vikrama Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 19, pp. 20-40, 166-187, 354-374; Vol. 20, pp. 124-142, 397-414.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1914.

chandra that there was a gap of 155 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.

[Be it noted that according to the Jaina tradition the accession of Chandragupta Maurya took place in 312 B. C., a date not regarded as correct by scholars for the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.]

4. According to the Jaina tradition, the Jaina pontiff Sambhūtavijaya died exactly in the year after Chandragupta's accession, or 156 after Vīra, which may after all perhaps be the very same year as Hemachandra says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*). Bhadrabāhu, the successor of Sambhūtavijaya, died fifteen years later. All Jaina tradition from Hemachandra downwards gives 170 after Vīra as the year of Bhadrabāhu's death. This would be 297 B. C. if the date 467 B. C. is accepted for Mahāvīra's death; and all Jaina tradition also brings Bhadrabāhu into the closest connection with Chandragupta in whose reign the date 297 B. C. falls.

5. The *Kalpasūtra* was finished 980 years after Mahāvīra, but in another recension the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old *chūrni*, refer this date to four different events. One such event is the public recitation of the *Kalpasūtra* before King Dhruvasena of Ānandapura whose reign lasted from A. D. 526 to A. D. 540. Thus we find a most remarkable coincidence, for 993—467 = 526, or just the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhī.

6. The Jaina creed is called in Buddhist literature *chāturyāma*, 'consisting in four restrictions'. But Mahāvīra enforced five great vows upon his followers. From this Charpentier concludes that Mahāvīra did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when the Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

7. Bimbisāra[1] is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajātaśatru does not appear so very much there. In the Jaina canon Kūṇika plays a far more important rôle in the life of Mahāvīra. This may point to a later period of Ajātaśatru's reign.

Although the date 467 B. C. (suggested long ago by Jacobi

1. See S. B. E., Vol. 50 (Index), p. 99, for the references regarding the Buddha's frequent meetings with Bimbisāra.

and strongly supported by Charpentier) has good points in it, it presents two very serious difficulties:—

1. Firstly, this "date does not accord with the explicit statement in some of the earliest Buddhist texts that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha" (H. C. Raychaudhuri). Charpentier also knows that this date is "contradicted by a passage in the Buddhist *Dīgha-Nikāya*[1] which tells us that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta—the name by which the Buddhists denote Mahāvīra—died before Buddha. This assertion is, however, in contradiction with other contemporaneous statements, and forms" for him "no real obstacle to the assumption of the date 468 B. C." (C. H. I., I, p. 156). He adds that he considers "this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pāli canon" (I. A., 1914, p. 177).

For several reasons it is very difficult to agree with Charpentier:—

(a) The Jaina tradition was collected and reduced to writing much later and hence it is not as reliable as the Buddhist tradition.

(b) Even the Jaina tradition is not unanimous about the date of Mahāvīra's death. There are several traditions[2] about this, which rather shake our belief in them.

(c) The insertion of Vikrama and the Śakas in the Jaina tradition strengthens our suspicion.

(d) The Buddhist tradition is more reliable as it was reduced to writing very early. Moreover, due to its comparatively more reliability, it has been used in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Hence, there should be no valid objection to its use in determining the date of Mahāvīra.

2. Secondly, Charpentier'a calculation is based on the assumption that the Buddha died in 477 B. C. This date has since been discarded and the date of the Buddha's death has been fixed at 487 B.C. as this is the date arrived at on the basis of the Cantonese tradition, the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions of Aśoka.[3] In order to discredit the tradition of the

1. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, III, pp. 117 *sq.*, 209 *sq.* Also *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 273 *sq.* *Cf.* Chalmers, J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 665-666.

2. Collected in Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 240-243.

3. This has been admirably pointed out by S. N. Pradhan (*op. cit.*) and need not be repeated here.

Mahāvaṁsa that Aśoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of the Buddha, Charpentier had to take recourse to an utterly untenable argument saying that "the 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhisheka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kaliṅga or to the first conversion, or to both these events" (I.A., 1914, p. 170).

There are some other theories as well about Mahāvīra's date which we may notice in passing.

(C) S. N. Pradhan[1] holds the date 480 B.C. (=325+155) or 477 B.C. (=322+155) for the death of Mahāvīra, accepting Hemachandra who says that Chandragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra.

(D) "Certain Jaina writers assume an interval of eighteen years between the *birth* of Vikrama and the foundation of the era attributed to him, and thereby seek to reconcile the Jaina tradition about the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa (58+18+470=546 B.C.) with the Ceylonese date of the Great Decease of the Buddha (544 B.C.). But the suggestion can hardly be said to rest on any reliable tradition. Merutuṅga places the death of the last Jina or Tīrthaṅkara 470 years before the end of Śaka rule and the *victory* and not *birth* of the traditional Vikrama" (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 86).

(E) "Certain Jaina *Sūtras* seem to suggest that Mahāvīra died about sixteen years after the accession of Ajātaśatru and the commencement of his wars with his hostile neighbours. This would place the Nirvāṇa of the Jaina teacher eight years after the Buddha's death, as, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the Buddha died eight years after the enthronement of Ajātaśatru. The Nirvāṇa of the Tīrthaṅkara would, according to this view, fall in 478 B.C., if we accept the Cantonese reckoning (486 B.C.) as our basis, and in 536 B.C., if we prefer the Ceylonese epoch.

"The date 478 B.C. would almost coincide with that to which the testimony of Hemachandra leads us, and place the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 323 B.C., which cannot be far from the truth. But the result in respect of Mahāvīra himself is at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which make the Buddha *survive* his Jñātṛika rival.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

"The Jaina statement that their Tīrthaṅkara died some sixteen years after the accession of Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) can be reconciled with the Buddhist tradition about the death of the same teacher before the eighth year of Ajātaśatru if we assume that the Jainas, who refer to Kūnika as ruler of Champā, begin their reckoning from the accession of that prince to the viceregal throne of Champā, while the Buddhists make the accession of Ajātaśatru to the royal throne of Rājagṛiha the basis of their calculation" (H.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 86).

(F) In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917, S. V. Venkateswara wrote an article entitled 'The Date of Vardhamāna' (pages 122-130) in which he suggested "the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Ananda Vikrama era" as the date of the nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna, "the founder of modern Jainism". His view is based on the *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa wherein the Sanskrit dramatist "introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darśaka's sister in marriage for his own son" (p. 129). The reign of Darśaka as accepted by Venkateswara is 437-413 B. C. Thus Chaṇḍa Pradyota was alive at the beginning of the reign of Darśaka. Jaina tradition[1] is to the effect that Vardhamāna died on the same day as Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. Thus "the founder of the Jaina faith must have seen Darśaka's reign (*i.e.*, 437-413 B.C.), if it be true that both Vardhamāna and Chaṇḍa died about the same time" (pp. 124-125).

This view can be easily refuted on the basis of what has already been said.

(G) H. C. Seth[2] suggests 488 B. C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death on the basis of the Buddhist tradition, assuming 487 B.C. as the date of the Buddha's death. As he says,

"The great difficulty in accepting 468 B. C. as the date for Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa will be that it will place Mahāvīra's

1. *The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, ed. Ramachandra Ghosha (Calcutta, 1888), p. 130.

2. 'Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and some other important dates in Ancient Indian History' in *Bhārata-Kaumudi*, Part II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 817-838. H. C. Seth's other articles on ancient Indian chronology include: 'Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology', *Indian Culture*, Vol. 5 (1938-1939), pp. 305-317; 'Beginning of Chandragupta Maurya's Reign', *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress* (1939), p. 371; also republished in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 19 (1940), pp. 17-21; 'Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 17, Part III.

death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, *i.e.*, Mahāvīra, died at Pāvā a little before Buddha.[1] Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition" (p. 820).

"The traditional chronology of the Śvetāmbara Sect of the Jainas given in the *Tepāgachha Paṭṭavalī* and Merutuṅga's *Vichāraśreṇī*, which has been made familiar by European scholars like Bühler, Jacobi and Charpentier, puts Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa 470 years before the Vikrama era (pp. 817-818).

"All the Jaina traditions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and Vikrama+135 of Vikrama's dynasty+40 of Nahavāṇa) after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa" (p. 834). Now his main argument is as follows:—

"Nahavāṇa is in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapāṇa, the Mahā-Kshatrapa of Kshaharāta family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. ...... The modern historical researches put Nahapāṇa in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era. ..... If we take out 40 years of Nahavāṇa from 470 years, the interval given in these traditions between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430+58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahāvīra Nirvāna. This will place Mahāvīra's death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions about these two great religious teachers" (pp. 831-832).

We fully agree with him that whatsoever date we accept, the Buddha and Mahāvīra must be shown contemporaries, otherwise the date cannot be correct. But we suggest a modification in it:

The Christian year changes in our Pausha. This may

1. *Digha-Nikāya*, III, pp. 117, 209; and *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pāvā, and that the Nirgranthas, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jaina traditions also Mahāvīra died at Pāvā [H. C. Seth].

be applicable to B.C. dates as well. If we say that Mahāvīra died in 488 B.C. and the Buddha died in 487 B. C., seemingly there is a difference of one year between these two events. But really speaking, there is a difference of 6½ months only; because Mahāvīra died in the month of Kārtika in 488 B.C., the year changed in Pausha and 487 B.C. began from that month and in Vaiśākha of the same year (487 B.C.) the Buddha died. From Buddhist literature we know that some time, evidently more than one or two years, passed between the deaths of the two teachers, because it is recorded that the Buddha passed his last rainy season (evidently in 488 B. C.) at Vaiśālī. So 488 B. C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death will have to be given up and we should see if we can find out a date of Mahāvīra's death somewhere near that, which is in keeping with other details

After a comparison of the details of the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, especially the places where they spent their rainy seasons, we have come to the conclusion that Mahāvīra died in 490 B. C. (November) and that he had been born in 561 B. C. (April). He was alive for 71 years and 6½ months. The Buddha was born in 567 B. C. (May) and he died in 487 B. C (May). He was alive exactly for 80 years.

The point which induced us to try to find out the correct date of Mahāvīra is this:

In the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* literature (M., II. 3. 7) it is stated in most unequivocal terms that one particular rainy season was spent at Rājagṛiha by the Buddha as well as Mahāvīra and five other heretical teachers. Scholars so far have not paid serious attention to it. Had they done it, they would have been able to find out the correct date of Mahāvīra. Charpentier also knew this passage and certain other passages of the same type. On page 126 (foot-note 29) of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1914, he says—"The *Majjh. Nik.* II, p. 2 sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rājagṛiha at the same time as Buddha. Mahāvīra spent fourteen of his *varṣās* there according to *Kalpasūtra* § 122." But he, too, ignored it. This passage, as a matter of fact, provides us with another means from the Buddhist side (besides the one indicating that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha) to arrive at the correct date of Mahāvīra.

We proceeded to find out the date of that specific rainy

season and consulted the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, *viz*., *Buddhacharyā* (in Hindi) by Rahula Sankrityayana (2nd ed., Banaras, 1952) and *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (in English) by Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II (Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951) respectively. According to the former the date of the Buddha is 563 B.C.—483 B. C. and according to the latter the date of Mahāvīra is 597 B.C.—526 B.C. We have, however, followed only the years of the lives of these teachers with regard to particular events and not the dates of these events in terms of B. C. years offered by the two above-mentioned writers. We were surprised to see that we could find out the particular rainy season in which both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Rājagṛiha. This was done in the following way:

In *Buddhacharyā*, which is a systematised collection of the Hindi translation of the selected passages from ancient Buddhist literature, especially *Tripiṭaka* literature, it is stated (p. 248) that Lord Buddha spent his 17th rainy season (after enlightenment) at Rājagṛiha; and then follows the Hindi translation of *Mahāsakuludāyi-Sutta* (M., II. 3. 7) in which it is said (p. 249) that on that particular occasion both the Buddha and Nigaṇtha Nātaputta spent their rainy season at Rājagṛiha. Taking 567 B.C. as the date of the birth of the Buddha this comes to 516 B. C.

On the basis of the life of Mahāvīra written by Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya who has closely followed the early traditional literature on the subject we prepared the list of places where Mahāvīra spent his rainy seasons after leaving his home (with dates). We took 561 B. C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra and found that he spent his rainy season in 516 B.C. at Rājagṛiha. This was his 16th rainy season in his ascetic life (*i.e.*, after leaving his home which event took place in December of 532 B.C. according to our calculation). In the rainy season of 513 B.C. also both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Rājagṛiha. So the date 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra is able not only to show that the Buddha survived Mahāvīra but also to make both the teachers spend the same rainy season at Rājagṛiha. This is highly useful inasmuch as it also confirms the statement in the Buddhist literature and shows that Pāli texts are not 'fancy and invention.'

Below we propose to show that if in Buddhist literature the Buddha and Mahāvīra[1] have been shown as living at the same place at a particular time, we get confirmation from the life of Mahāvīra, too, about it pointing out that he was actually at the same particular place at that time. As Charpentier also collected, though for a different purpose, some examples of this situation when the Buddha and Mahāvīra were living at the same place or in the same locality, we shall begin this examination with the passages pointed out by Charpentier (I.A., 1914, pp. 126-128).

1. "The well-known introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (D. I. p. 47 sq.) telling us how king Ajātaśatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kachchāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta to hear their doctrines, and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha, may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajātaśatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night.[2] But the main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosāla and Nātaputta, by comparison with Jaina writings. Moreover, the Jaina writings, *e.g.*, the *Aupapātika-Sūtra* § 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by king Kūṇiya or Koṇiya (Ajātaśatru) to Mahāvīra, and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajātaśatru paying visits to Mahāvīra was quite familiar with Jaina writers" (pp. 126-127).

This visit of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha took place in 491 B. C. according to our calculation, because Rahula Sankrityayana put it at 487 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 426) taking 483 B. C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The rainy season of 491 B.C.

1. Passages where Nāt(h)aputta is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance CV. V, 8, 1; D. N. II, p. 150; M. N. I, pp. 198, 250; II, pp. 2 ff; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit Nirgrantho Jñātiputraḥ, *e.g.*, *Divyāvad*, p. 143; *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383 [Charpentier, p. 126, f. n.].

2. The visit of Ajātaśatru is said in D. to have taken place in the full moon of Kārttika (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season [Charpentier].

was passed by the Buddha at Śrāvastī. This was his 42nd rainy season after enlightenment. So this Buddhist reference means to say that sometime in the last month (*i.e.*, Kārtika) of the *chāturmāsya* the Buddha came to Rājagṛiha. The example of the Buddha's leaving his *chāturmāsya* place on the Āśvina Pūrṇimā (the full-moon day of Āśvina, Mahā-pravāraṇā day) or later is furnished by Sankrityayana on page 82 of his book. [This was the Buddha's 7th rainy season (526 B.C.) which had been passed at Trayastriṁśa.]

Thus Buddhist literature says that there was a meeting between the Buddha and Ajātaśatru at Rājagṛiha in the full-moon night of Kārtika. But what about Mahāvīra ? Ajātaśatru mentions before the Buddha (Sankrityayana, p. 430) that he had been to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as well and had held a discussion.

Coming to Mahāvīra, as is well-known, he passed his 42nd rainy season (which was his last rainy season) at Madhyamā Pāvā where he died. This, according to our calculation, took place in 490 B.C. From the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, page 658) we know that "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛiha Nagara during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life." The date of this rainy season will be 491 B.C.

Thus it was possible for Ajātaśatru to meet the Buddha at Rājagṛiha after having met Mahāvīra (at Rājagṛiha).

2. "In *Majjhima Nikāya* I, p. 93 sq., Buddha tells his relative, the Śākya prince Mahānāman, of a conversation which he had once had with some Nirgrantha ascetics in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛiha. These disciples of Mahāvīra praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, *etc.*; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahāvīra as well as Gosāla, Buddha as well as Devadatta" (p. 127).

This story is given in detail by Sankrityayana under '*Chūla-dukkhakkhandha-Sutta*' on pages 212-216 and the reference by the Buddha to the Nirgranthas of Rājagṛiha is given on page 214. The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given by Sankrityayana as 514 B.C. which is equivalent to 518 B.C. if we regard 487 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The age of the Buddha is given as 49th year which is equivalent to 519 B.C.

(May) to 518 B.C. (May). Thus this event might have happened sometime between May, 519 B.C. and May, 518 B.C.

Now from the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) we know that he passed his 13th rainy season after leaving home (or 1st rainy season after enlightenment) at Rājagṛiha. The date of this according to our calculation is 519 B.C. (July-October), taking 561 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's birth.

Thus we see that it was possible that sometime in 519 B.C. (either in May-June or July-October) the Buddha contacted at Rājagṛiha (at Kālaśilā near Ṛishigiri) some Nirgranthas who told him that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta was all-knowing. Very possibly, as we have seen above, Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta (Mahāvīra) was himself residing there in the locality, although the text does not make it necessary.

3. "Moreover, there are other instances in the Pāli Canon where Mahāvīra is praised in the same way by his followers; so

[a] in *Majjh. Nik.* II, 31, where Sakuludāyi in Rājagṛiha,

[b] *ibid.*, II, 214 sq., where some Nirgrantha monks, and

[c] in *Aṅguttara* I, 220, where the Lichchhavi prince, Abhaya, in a conversation with Ānanda in Vesāli,

eulogize Nātaputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite famılar way of Nātaputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove, that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between Buddhists and Jainas in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahāvīra" (p. 127).

Of the three passages above, we have already considered the first one. This is the occasion when both the Buddha and Mahāvīra passed the same rainy season at one and the same place *i.e.*, Rājagṛiha. This event took place in 516 B.C. according to our calculation as shown above. The other two passages are not relevant for our purposes.

4. "The passage in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 1 sq., speaking of the meeting in Vesāli[1] of the general Sīha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nātaputta has been

1. The passage is repeated in *Aṅg. Nik.* IV, p. 180 sq. [Charpentier].

discussed by Professor Jacobi in S. B. E. 45, p. xvi. sq. ...." (p. 127).

The passage is very important as in this it is expressly stated that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaiśālī at that time.

The Hindi translation of the *Sīha-Sutta* (A., VIII. 1. 2. 2) has been given by Sankrityayana on pages 138-140. He gives the date of this event as 515 B. C. which is equivalent to 519 B. C. according to our calculation. The Buddha spent his 13th rainy season at Chāliya Parvata (p. 137) and 14th rainy season as Śrāvastī (p. 158, f. n.). The date of the 14th rainy season is 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation.

But where was Mahāvīra in the year 519 B. C. ? He passed his 13th rainy season at Rājagṛiha (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) in 519 B. C. (July-October) according to our calculation and 14th rainy season at Vaiśālī (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 231) in 518 B. C. (July-October). From the *Life* (page 200) again we know that "Soon after the rainy season, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Rājagṛiha, and went in the direction of Videha". Then Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya mentions Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 201) and Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 206) as the places visited by Mahāvīra. All these places were suburbs of Vaiśālī. The only place outside the Vaiśālī area visited by Mahāvīra between his 13th and 14th rainy seasons was Champā (page 227).

Thus combining both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions we can say that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaiśālī in November-December, 519 B. C. and that the conversion of Sīha to Buddhism also took place at the same time. It may further be added that this was the first visit of Mahāvīra to Vaiśālī after his enlightenment (May, 519 B. C.). That is why the Jaina tradition mentions the conversion of Ṛishabha-datta, Devānandā, Jamāli and Priyadarśanā to Jainism on this occasion. But it is silent about the conversion of Sīha, who was a Nirgrantha, to Buddhism, as it did not like to record such defeats.

5. "... and also the well-known *Upāli-Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 371 sq.). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upāli, who was a lay follower of Nātaputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers

dwelt at Nālandā in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upāli, and made him his disciple. So Upāli went back to his house in Rājagṛiha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the Nirgranthas. When Mahāvīra afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upāli declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogised Buddha, his new master. . . . but then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Nigganṭha Nātaputta, since he was not able to stand the praise of the Venerable One" (p. 127).

The *Upālisutta* is also highly important, because the event took place at Nālandā when both the teachers were there.

Rājagṛiha and Nālandā are close to each other just like Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrāma or Champā and Pṛishṭha Champā. That is why in the § 122 of the *Kalpasūtra* where totals of rainy seasons passed at different places are indicated, these are shown jointly and not separately. Thus it has been stated therein (quoted in *Life of Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Part II, pages 690-691) that Mahāvīra passed 3 rainy seasons at Champā and Pṛishṭha Champā, 12 rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrāma and 14 rainy seasons at Rājagṛiha and Nālandā[1]. This joint mention is significant.

Coming to the Buddhist tradition, Rahula Sankrityayana mentions in his *Buddhacharyā* that the Buddha spent his 42nd rainy season at Śrāvastī (page 413, f. n.). The date of this will be 491 B. C. according to our calculation. From the next page we find the Hindi translation of *Upāli-Sutta* (pp. 414-423) with its scene at Nālandā. The date given is 487 B. C. which is equivalent to 491 B. C. according to our calculation. The year given is 77th year of the Buddha's life. This will be May, 491 B. C. to May, 490 B. C. according to our calculation. Thus it appears that the event took place between November, 491 B. C. and May, 490 B. C. as shown above.

Turning to the Jaina tradition about the itinerary of Mahāvīra, we have to enquire as to where Mahāvīra was at this

1. In the § 122 of the *Kalpasūtra* Mahāvīra is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛiha and the suburb (bāhirikā) of Nālandā. This was a famous place even with the Jainas, cp., *e. g.*, *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* II, 7 (S. B. E. XLV, 419 sq.) [Charpentier, p. 127, f. n.].

time : whether he was in the Rājagṛiha-Nālandā area or away from it.

From the *Life of Mahāvīra* (Vol. II, Part II, pages 650, 658) we know that Mahāvīra was at Rājagṛiha (or, in the Rājagṛiha-Nālandā area, to be more exact and in keeping with the tone of the *Kalpasūtra* § 122) from November, 492 B. C. to the early months of 490 B. C. This is evident from the following quotations:—

"Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Mithilā Nagarī during the rainy season of the fortieth year of his ascetic life" (page 649). [Date according to our calculation-July-October, 492 B.C.]

"Soon after the close of the rainy season Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Mithilā and went in the direction of Magadha-deśa. Coming to Rājagṛiha Nagara, the Worshipful Lord put up at Guṇaśīla Chaitya outside the town" (page 650). [Date—from November, 492 B. C. onwards.]

"Sramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛiha Nagara during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life" (page 658). [Date-July-October, 491 B. C.]

"Even after the close of rainy season, Sramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛiha Nagara, for a long time" (page 658). [Date—from November, 491 B. C. onwards for some months.]

From Rājagṛiha he went to Apāpā Nagarī or Pāvāpurī (pages 664, 682) where he breathed his last in November, 490 B. C. (according to our calculation).

Hence the event narrated in the *Upālisutta* is rendered more probable due to the presence of the two teachers in the Rājagṛiha-Nālandā area in the period from November, 491 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C.

6. "In the *Abhayakumārasutta* (M. N. I, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rājagṛiha by Nigaṇtha Nātaputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him; for if he answered 'no' he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered 'yes', Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostacy" (p. 128).

Charpentier adds that "too much weight should not be attached to this passage" but we are unable to agree with him.

The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given as 487 B. C. by Saṅkrityayana (p. 424) which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The scene of this *Sutta* is Rājagṛiha where both the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown as present. We have already shown above that Mahāvīra was at Rājagṛiha from November, 492 B. C. to the early months of 490 B.C. He passed his rainy season of 491 B.C. also at Rājagṛiha. Thus there is nothing impossible in it.

7. "..... *Saṁy. Nik.* IV, 322 sq. where we are told that Buddha and Nātaputta were staying in Nālandā at the same time during a severe famine; when the latter asked his lay-follower the squire (*gāmaṇī*) Asibandhakaputta (*cf. ibid.*, p. 317 sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people" (p. 128, f. n.).

The story of Asibandhakaputta has been narrated on pp. 103-105 by Sankrityayana. It indicates that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Nālandā at the time when there was a famine there. The date of the event is given as 518 B.C. which is equivalent to 522 B.C. according to our calculation. Just above the story is mentioned the fact that the 11th rainy season of the Buddha was passed in the Brāhmaṇa village of Nālā or Nāladā (p. 103). The date of this rainy season according to our calculation is 522 B.C. Thus if Sankrityayana is strictly followed, the event took place sometime after the rainy season, *i.e.*, in November-December, 522 B.C.

Coming to the Jaina tradition, we find that Mahāvīra passed his 10th rainy season at Śrāvastī (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, 472) in 522 B.C. (according to our calculation). After the rains he travelled to other places. "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra then went to Rājagṛiha Nagara. There Īśānendra (Indra of Īśāna devaloka) came, and worshipped the Lord. After making inquiries about Bhagavān's health, he went away" (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 491). Thus Mahāvīra is also at Rājagṛiha, *i. e.*, in the Rājagṛiha-Nālandā area at the same time.

The seven passages analysed so far are pointed out in the article of Charpentier. While reading *Buddhacharyā* of Sankrityayana we have come across certain other passages as well in which the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown at the same place at a particular time. One such is given below:—

8. From the *Chūla-Sakuludāyi-Sutta* (M., II. 3. 9) we know (*Buddhacharyā*, pp. 262-267, esp. p. 263) that there was a conversation between Sakula-Udāyi and the Buddha at Rājagriha in which a reference was made by Sakula-Udāyi to Mahāvīra. The date of this event as given by Sankrityayana is 512 B.C. which is equivalent to 516 B.C. according to our calculation. We have already proved above that in 516 B.C. both the Buddha and Mahāvīra passed their rainy season at Rājagriha. [The text in the *Sutta*, however, does not make Mahāvīra's presence at Rājagriha necessary.]

Thus my conclusion is that in case the Buddha's date is regarded as 567-487 B.C. the date of Mahāvīra should be:—

Birth : 561 B.C. (April),

Death : 490 B.C. (November).[1]

Here we would like to point out a mistake usually committed by many. When the date of the death of Mahāvīra is indicated, people find out the date of his birth by adding 72. This is wrong. Mahāvīra was alive for 71 years 6 months and 17 days, *i.e.*, approximately for 72 years. If we add 72, we actually give him a life of 72½ years, *i.e.*, one year more than the real length of his life. It happens in this way. Suppose the date of his death is 490 B. C. If we add 72 to this in the usual manner, the date of birth comes to 562 B.C. Now Mahāvīra was born in April and died in November. So from April, 562 B. C. to November, 490 B. C. will be 72 years and 7 months while the real length of his life is 71 years and about 7 months. Hence we should add only 71 in order to find out the date of his birth.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF MAHĀVĪRA

Although there is no controversy among the mature scholars regarding the identification of Mahāvīra's birthplace which is Vaiśālī, the Jaina community, or more correctly its common section, is still to be convinced of it. According to the Śvetāmbara section the birthplace of Mahāvīra is Lachhuār or Lachhwāḍ in the southern part of Monghyr district (south of the Ganges) near Lakhisarai

1. In case the Buddha's date is regarded as 566-486 B. C., the date of Mahāvīra in my opinion will be 560-489 B.C.

Junction. The Digambara section regards Kuṇḍalpur, a village two miles from Nālandā, as the birthplace of the Lord. Both the views are evidently wrong. But they are placed (especially the first is placed) with considerable vehemence whenever an occasion arises.[1] Hence we propose to devote some space to this very important aspect of Jaina history.

In our opinion the problem can be met in three ways, *viz.*, by giving opinions of reputed scholars (European as well as Indian), by placing arguments based on the ancient Jaina scriptures, and by giving extracts from the ancient Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaisālī in the Videha country.

Both European and Indian scholars are unanimous in regarding Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī as the birthplace of Mahāvīra. We quote below the opinions of some

1. In 1948 an article of mine in favour of Vaiśālī was published in *Homage to Vaiśālī*, entitled 'Vaiśālī, the Birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra' (pp. 85-90). This had already been separately published as *Identification of Mahāvīra's Birthplace* (Vaiśālī, 1947). A Hindi version of this was also issued (Vaiśālī, 1948). Two writers then wrote articles in favour of Lachhwāḍ in the *Āryāvarta* (a Hindi daily from Patna) of the 11th April and 12th June of 1949 respectively. I replied to these in the *Huṅkār* (a Hindi weekly from Patna) of the 5th June, the *Yogī* (another Hindi weekly from Patna) of the 17th June and the *Āryāvarta* of the 24th July, 1949. The first writer of the *Āryāvarta* then wrote a second article in the *Āryāvarta* of the 27th December, 1949; but as it contained no new point, I did not consider it necessary to reply to it. Four years later, when I published my *Vaiśālī kī Jhānkī* (Patna, 1953), I included in it the grounds of regarding Vaiśālī as Mahāvīra's birthplace, his close association with this place and reasons as to why the Jainas gradually forgot Vaiśālī. In the same year the first writer just referred to contributed an article to the All-India Oriental Conference (Ahmedabad Session) on this topic. Hence I got an article of mine on this controversy published in *Brahmachāriṇī Paṇḍitā Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha* (Arrah, 1954), pp. 669-676. My article in *Homage to Vaiśālī* and especially a Hindi book *Vaiśālī* (Delhi, 1947) written by Vijayendra Suri Ji and published earlier aroused considerable interest among the Jainas of Gujarat and a Jaina Muni named Muni Darshan Vijay Ji Triputi wrote a book entitled *Kshatriyakuṇḍa* (Ahmedabad, 1950) in Gujarati in favour of Lachhuar. His arguments have been met in my Hindi article published in *Śrīmad-Rājendra-Sūri-Smāraka-Grantha* (1957) and more elaborately in Vijayendra Suri Ji's revised *Vaiśālī* (published both in Gujarati and Hindi in 1958 from Bombay) and *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1960). The present work seeks to furnish at one place all types of evidence on the issue of Mahāvīra's birthplace. The success of our efforts made in this direction during the last few years has come to be recognised and a recent writer says that because of this "certain sections of the Swetambars and the Digambars appear to accept Vaisali to be the birthplace of Mahavira Swami" (*Jainism in Bihar*, Patna, 1956, p. 14).

of them :—

1. Hermann Jacobi, while discussing the birthplace and parentage of Mahāvīra in his *Jaina Sūtras*, Part One (S. B. E., Vol. 22, Oxford, 1884), says (pp. x-xiii) :—

"The Jainas, both Svetambaras and Digambaras, state that Mahāvīra was the son of King Siddhārtha of Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma. Kuṇḍagrāma is called in the Āchārāṅga Sūtra a Saṁ-nivesa, a term which the commentator interprets as denoting a halting-place of caravans or processions. By combining occasional hints in the Bauddha and Jaina scriptures we can, with sufficient accuracy, point out where the birthplace of Mahāvīra was situated; for in the Mahāvagga of the Buddhists we read that Buddha, while sojourning at Koṭiggāma, was visited by the courtezan Ambapāli and the Lichchhavis of the neighbouring capital Vesāli. From Koṭiggāma he went to where the Ñātikas (lived). There he lodged in the Ñātika Brick-hall. From there he went to Vesāli, where he converted the general-in-chief (of the Lichchhavis), a lay-disciple of the Nirgranthas (or Jaina monks). Now it is highly probable that the Koṭiggāma of the Buddhists is identical with the Kuṇḍaggāma of the Jainas. Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the Ñātikas, apparently identical with the Jñātṛika Kshatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Sīha, the Jaina, point to the same direction. Kuṇḍagrāma, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesālie, i.e., Vaiśālika given to Mahāvīra in the Sūtra-kṛitāṅga I, 3. Vaiśālika apparently means a native of Vaiśālī; and Mahāvīra could rightly be called that when Kuṇḍagrāma was a suburb of Vaiśālī.

"Siddhārtha's wife Triśalā was sister to Cheṭaka, king of Vaiśālī. She is called Vaidehī or Videhadattā, because she belonged to the reigning line of Videha....We are enabled to understand why the Buddhists took no notice of Cheṭaka, as his influence was not very great, and besides, was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet to whose influence we must attribute the fact, that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent".

The same authority, writing about Mahāvīra in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7 (New York, 1914), p. 466 (*s. v.* Jainism), says:—

"He was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the town Vaiśālī (the modern Basāṛh, some 27 miles north of Patna). Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyaggāma, both suburbs of Vesāli, have been identified by Hoernle with the modern villages, Baniyā and Basukuṇḍ".

2. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, in whose masterly address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 2nd February, 1898 a convenient summary of the Jaina traditions with reference to the original sources will be found, in his English translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1888) has clearly shown that Vaiśālī is the birthplace of Mahāvīra. He says (note 8, pp. 3-5):—

"*Vāṇiyagāma*, Skr. *Vāṇijagrāma*; another name of the well-known city of Vesālī (Skr. Vaishālī), the capital of the Licchavī country. In the Kalpa Sūtra, § 122, it is mentioned separately, but in close conjunction with Vesālī. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesālī occupied a very extended area, which included within its circuit, besides Vesālī proper (now Besāṛh), several other places. Among the latter were Vāṇiyagāma and Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura. These still exist as villages under the names of Bāniyā and Basukuṇḍ. Hence the joint-city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts. Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vesālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, who hence is sometimes called *Vesālie* or the 'man of Vesālī'.... Mahāvīra's father, Siddhattha, was the chief of the Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vesālī or Kuṇḍagāma".

3. Vincent Arthur Smith, the famous historian, also believes that Vaiśālī was the birthplace of Mahāvīra. In his article entitled 'Vaiśālī' published in J. R. A. S., 1902 (pp. 267-288) he says (pp. 282-283, 286-287):—

"According to Jain tradition, Vaiśālī consisted of three distinct portions, Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagāma, and Vāṇiyagāma, besides the Kollāga suburb. Vaiśālī proper has been sufficiently identified as being represented by Bisālgaṛh and an indeterminate portion of the other extensive ruins. The village of

Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmdās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma. The lands of the village contain "extensive mounds", and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tīrthaṁkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface, and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvīra, the great prophet of the Jains, and this discovery of Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name......... Kollāga is probably now represented by the village situated close to the Monkey Tank called Kolluā or Kolhuā, on the eastern side of which a large mound exists.........Kuṇḍagāma, the Brahman section of Vaiśālī, may be represented by the hamlet called Basukuṇḍ."

The same authority, writing in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12 (New York, 1921), pp. 567-568 (*s.v.* Vaiśālī), says:—

"The ancient city of Vaiśālī was equally sacred to the Jains and the Buddhists long ago. It is now represented unquestionably by the village named Basār or Basāṛh (not Besarh or Bāsārh as in nearly all books), situated in the Hajipur subdivision of the Muzaffarpur District of the Bihar and Orissa Province, in 25° 99′ N. and 85° 8′ E. The identity of Vaiśālī with the group of remains associated with the village of Basāṛh is conclusively proved

(i) by the survival of the ancient name with only slight modifications;

(ii) by geographical bearings taken from Patna and other places;

(iii) by topographical details as compared with the description recorded by Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang), the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century; and

(iv) by the finding on the spot of sealings of letters inscribed with the name Vaiśālī. The documents, which were addressed to officials and other residents, have totally disappeared. The sealings found number about 1000, of which two or three bear the name of the town.

"Few places in India have stronger claims upon the veneration of both Jains and Buddhists. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, commonly spoken of as the founder of the Jain Church, belonged to a noble family of Vaiśālī, where he was born and

spent all his earlier life. After he had entered upon the ascetic career, he is said to have resided in his native town or the immediate neighbourhood for twelve rainy seasons, during which travelling was unlawful for persons of his profession. The Jain scriptures often mention Vaiśālī. The archaeologists have not sought for Jain remains on the site, and nothing in their reports would lead the reader to suppose that the Basāṛh area was the birthplace of Jainism, as it is known to the moderns."

4. Giving an account of 'Excavations at Basāṛh' in *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04 (Calcutta, 1906) T. Bloch says (p. 82):—

"Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras, is called *Vesālie*, "a native of Vaiśālī", in the Jaina scriptures and it is also related there that his birthplace, Kuṇḍagāma, lay in Videha. Videha and Tīrabhukti, however, are used almost synonymously by ancient authors. An identification of Vaiśālī with a place outside the borders of Tirhut, therefore, appears *primâ facie* very unlikely, the more so when there is an ancient site in Tirhut which fulfils all the necessary requirements."

5. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, in her well-known book, *The Heart of Jainism* (Oxford University Press, 1915), writes (pp. 21-22):—

"Some two thousand years ago in Besārh the same divisions existed as would be found today; and there in fact, the priestly (Brāhman), the warrior (Kṣatriya), and the commercial (Baniyā) communities lived so separately that their quarters were sometimes spoken of as though they had been distinct villages, as Vaiśālī, Kuṇḍagrāma, and Vāṇijyagrāma. Strangely enough, it was not in their own but in the Kṣatriya ward that the man was born who was to be the great hero of the Baniyā, and who was to found amongst these commercial people a religion which, with all its limitations, yet made one of the most emphatic protests the world has ever known against accounting luxury, wealth, or comfort the main things in life. It seems almost paradoxical also that the warrior caste should produce the great apostle of non-killing. He was afterwards known from his exploits as Mahāvīra—the great hero—but his earliest name he derived from his birthplace, being known simply as

Vaiśāliya, 'the man of Vaiśālī' (the main ward of the town)".[1]

6. Jarl Charpentier of the University of Upsala writes in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (ed. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922), p. 157 as follows:—

"Just outside Vaiśālī lay the suburb Kuṇḍagrāma—probably surviving in the modern village of Basukuṇḍ—and here lived a wealthy nobleman Siddhārtha, head of a certain warrior-clan called the Jñātṛikas. This Siddhārtha was the father of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra."

7. The writer in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 12 (Chicago, London, Toronto, 1953), writing about the Jainas (*s.v.*), says (p. 868):—

"Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, their last leader, is identifiable on strong grounds with Nigantha Nata-putta (Nirgrantha of the Jnatrika clan) of the Buddhist *Pitakas* and Buddha's contemporary....Mahāvīra...is said to have been a Kshatriya (like all the rest of the 24 Jinas) of Vaishali, 27 m. north of Patna."

8. The writers in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (*e.g.*, Jacobi and Smith, both already quoted above) also hold that Mahāvīra belonged to Vaiśālī.

9. G. P. Malalasekera in his *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II (London, 1938) accepts (p. 943) Basārh (Muzaffarpur district) as the ancient Vaiśālī and says (*ibid.*, Vol. I, London, 1937, p.64) that Mahāvīra belonged to the Nāta (or Nāya) clan of Vesāli.

Let us now consider the views of some important Indian scholars.

10. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I (first pub. London, 1923, Indian ed. 1940) says that "Vardhamāna was born at Vaiśālī about 599 B. C." (p. 291) and that "the *Nātaputta* of Pāli Buddhist literature is Vardhamāna" (p. 292).

11. Surendranath Dasgupta, in his *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.I (Cambridge, 1922, reprinted 1932, 1951), p. 173, says:—

1. The same writer says on p. 28 of that book:—"It is only through the labours of European scholars like Jacobi, Hoernle and Bühler that Mahāvīra's historical existence has been proved. It seems strange that the Jainas should still be dependent on the labours of scholars of another faith and speech for all they know about their greatest hero!"

"Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jains, was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Vaiśālī (modern Basāṛh), 27 miles north of Patna. He was the second son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā".

12. Rahula Sankrityayana in his *Darśana-digdarśana* (Allahabad, 1944) says (p. 492) that Vardhamāna Jñātṛiputra (Nātaputta), the founder of Jainism, was one of the teachers who flourished in the time of the Buddha. He was born in the Jñātṛi clan at Vaiśālī (modern Basāṛh, 27 miles north of Patna), the capital of the ancient Vajji republic (Muzaffarpur district in Bihar). Further he says that Vardhamāna's father was a member of the republican Senate (Gaṇa-Saṁsthā).

13. Nundo Lal Dey in his *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (2nd ed., London, 1927) says (*s.v.* Kuṇḍagāma, p. 107):—

"It is another name for Vaiśālī (modern Besarn) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Kuṇḍagāma (Kuṇḍagrāma) now called Basukuṇḍa was a part of the suburb of the ancient town of Vaiśālī.........Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vaiśālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, who was also called Vesālie or the man of Vesāli.......Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna was the son of Siddhārtha, a chief or "king" of Kuṇḍapura, by his wife Triśalā, who was a sister of Cheṭaka, king of Vaiśālī."

14. B. C. Law, speaking about Mahāvīra, says (*Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, London, 1937, p. 19):—"He was born in the town of Kuṇḍanagara, a suburb of Vaiśālī and an important seat of the Jñātṛikas. He was therefore called Vesālie (Vaiśālika),—a citizen of Vaiśālī." Elsewhere (*Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 298) also he says:—"There are reasons to believe that Mahāvīra was a native of a suburb of Vaiśālī."

Let us consider the views of some Jaina scholars as well.

15. Jagmanderlal Jaini, one of the earliest Indian writers on the subject, says that Mahāvīra "was born in the family of a ruling Kshatriya chief of the Nāya clan in the republic of Vaiśālī (modern North Behar), in the town of the same name (hence he is called also Vaiśālika), at the

site of the modern village of Besarh, about 27 miles north of Patna" (*Outlines of Jainism*, Cambridge, 1916, reprinted 1940, p. xxvii).

16. Chimanlal J. Shah in his *Jainism in North India, 800 B. C.-A. D.* 526 (Longmans, Green and Co., 1932) says (pp. 23-24):—

"Mahāvīra is believed to have been born of Triśalā, near the town of Vaiśālī, nearly twenty-seven miles north of Patna. His father, Siddhārtha, seems to have been a chieftain of Kuṇḍagrāma village, and his mother, Princess Triśalā, was the sister of the chieftain of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha, and was related also to Bimbisāra, king of Magadha."

17. Kalyanavijaya Ji Gani has written a life of *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (Śāstra-Saṅgraha-Samiti, Jalor, 1941) in which (introduction, pp. xxv-xxviii) he shows that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī in Videha.

18. Vijayendra Suri Ji has written *Vaiśālī* (1st ed., Delhi, 1947; 2nd revised and enlarged ed., Bombay, 1958) and *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol I (Bombay, 1960), wherein he gives strong arguments for accepting Kuṇḍagrāma or Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī (Muzaffarpur district) as the real birthplace of the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara.

19. Sukhlal Ji Sanghavi, while delivering his presidential address at the ninth Vaiśālī Festival in 1953, declared that Vaiśālī, being the birthplace of Mahāvīra, was the Mecca and the Jerusalem for the Jainas and that neither Lichchhuāḍ (the so-called Kshatriyakuṇḍa) near Lakhisarai nor Kuṇḍalagrāma near Nālandā was Mahāvīra's birthplace (*Vaiśālī kī Mahimā*, Patna, 1960, pp. 83-84).

20. Hira Lal Jain, while delivering his presidential address at the eleventh Vaiśālī Festival in 1955, said that Kuṇḍapura or Kshatriya-kuṇḍa, a part of Vaiśālī, was the birthplace of Mahāvīra (*Vaiśālī kī Mahimā*, pp. 94-95). Elsewhere (*Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Calendar 1955-1960*, Muzaffarpur, 1961, pp. 80-84; also pp. 79-80 where he has quoted our *A Scheme for the Vaisali Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology*, Vaiśālī, 1952, p. 17) he has furnished arguments from Jaina scriptures and other sources to prove his point.

21. Jagdish Chandra Jain, in his *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons* (Bombay, 1947), opines that "Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra[1]" and that "it is identified with modern Basukund which was a suburb of ancient Vaiśālī" (p. 297). Also, "Vaiśālī is identical with modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar" (p. 354).

22. Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya, who has written a detailed biography of *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (Vol. II, Parts I and II, Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951), says (*ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 53) that "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara", came out of "the womb of Kshatriyāṇī Triśalā of Vāsishṭha gotra, wife of Kshatriya Siddhārtha of Kāśyapa gotra belonging to the clan of Jñātṛi Kshatriyas" and residing in "the Kshatriya part of the town of Kuṇḍagrāma."

23. Kamta Prasad Jain of Aliganj (Etah) opines in his Hindi article entitled 'Vaiśālī' (*Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. 3, 1936-1937, pp. 48-52) that Kuṇḍapura (modern Basukund) near Vaiśālī is the birthplace of Mahāvīra.

24. K. Bhujbali Sastri is of the view (*vide* his Hindi article entitled 'Bhagavān Mahāvīra kī Janma-bhūmi' published in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. 10, 1943, pp. 60-66) that Vaiśālī (modern Basarh) is the birthplace of Bhagavān Mahāvīra.

25. Nemichandra Sastri of Arrah has no doubt in his mind about the birthplace of Mahāvīra which in his opinion is Vaiśālī (*B. P. Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, Arrah, 1954, p. 626).

Of the Jaina scholars quoted above, two, *viz.*, Vijayendra Suri Ji and Kalyanavijaya Ji Gani, have placed certain strong arguments before the Jaina world in their respective Hindi books. Those of the former[2] are:—

1. The present site, which is called Kshatriyakuṇḍa and is placed near Lichchhuāḍ, is in the Monghyr district. In historical times this formed part of Aṅga or Modāgiri and not of Videha. Hence this place cannot be the birth-place of the Lord.

1. *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇi*, Jinadāsagaṇi (Rutlam, 1928), p. 243; *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu, 384; also *Bhagavatī*, 9. 33.

2. Vijayendra Suri, *Vaiśālī* (Delhi, 1947), pp. 40-41; 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1958), pp. 102-103.

2. Modern Kshatriya-kuṇḍa is situated on the mountain, while there are no references to mountains in connection with ancient Kshatriyakuṇḍa in the (Jaina) scriptures. As there is no mountain in the vicinity of Vaiśālī, the possibility of its having been the birthplace of the Lord increases.

3. Near the present Kshatriyakuṇḍa there is a *nālā* which is not the Gaṇḍakī. The Gaṇḍakī river flows near Vaiśālī even today.

4. In the (ancient Jaina) scriptures Kshatriyakuṇḍa is shown near Vaiśālī, while Vaiśālī is not situated near the present site (of Kshatriyakuṇḍa-Lichchhuad).

5. The Videha country is to the north of the Ganges, while the present Kshatriyakuṇḍa (near Lichchhuad) is to the south of the Ganges.

6. Near the present site of Vaiśālī (represented by the village Basarh) there are villages like Bania, Kamanchhapragachhi and Kolhua. Kshatriyakuṇḍa is known as Basukund and is near Vaiśālī. It was here that the three of the principal events of the Lord's life had taken place.

7. The Archaeological Department (of the Government of India) also regards this Basukund as the real Kshatriyakuṇḍa.

8. The local people also regard this (Basukund) as the place where the Lord was born[1].

These are sound arguments and do not require any commentary.

Kalyanavijaya Ji also has advanced certain arguments based mainly on the geography of the peregrinations of Mahāvīra, *e.g.*, (a) nearness of Kollāka-Saṁniveśa to Mahāvīra's birthplace (there is no Kollāka-Saṁniveśa near Lichchhuad); (b) situation of Śvetavikā[2] to the west of Videha (and not

1. At Basukund there is a plot of land with an area of two acres which is regarded as sacred on account of being the actual birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra and remains uncultivated and inviolate for this reason. The land has now been donated to the Bihar Government and a memorial to Mahāvīra is to be established there whose foundation was laid by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic, on the 23rd April, 1956. See in this connection the address of R. R. Diwakar delivered on that occasion, now published in *Vaiśālī kī Mahimā* (Patna, 1960), pp. 100-101, esp. 101 (Hindi version on p. 146); also see pp. 118-119 (address of Badri Nath *Varma* on the same occasion).

2. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 1012.

near Lichchhuad) and the necessity of crossing the Ganges after coming from Śvetavikā side in order to reach Rājagṛiha (one has not to cross the Ganges while travelling from Lichchhuad to Rājagṛiha as both are on the southern side of this river)[1].

Here are some points showing very close association of Mahāvīra and Jainism with Vaiśālī-Kuṇḍapura of the Videha country:—

1. Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma which was situated in Videha[2] or in the River-Country[3] (*i.e.*, Tīrabhukti).

2. He was called Videha, Videhadatta (given by Videha), Videhajātya (born in Videha) and Videhasukumāra (a good son of Videha)[4].

3. He passed thirty years of his early life in Videha before the renunciation of the world.[5]

4. His mother, Triśalā Kshatriyāṇī, was the sister of Cheṭaka, the Lichchhavi chief of Vaiśālī, and is called Videhadattā[6] which means that Vaiśālī lay in Videha[7] in the opinion of the Jaina writers.

5 He was called *Vesālie*[8] (*i. e.*, a citizen of Vaiśālī: Vaiśālīya or Vaiśālika) because of the close proximity of of Vaiśālī and Kuṇḍapura.[9]

6. He passed twelve rainy seasons of his ascetic life at

1. Lack of space prevents us from going into details of these arguments for which see Kalyanavijaya Ji Gani, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (in Hindi), introduction.

2. Extracts from Jaina scriptures are furnished later.

3. The term is explained later.

4. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 110 (S.B.E., 22, p. 256). *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 17 (S B.E., 22, p. 194).

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 110. *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 15, 17.

7. *Cf.* P. H. A. I., p. 118.

8. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, I. 2. 3. 22 (S. B. E., 45, p. 261). *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, VI. 17 (S. B. E., 45, p. 27).

9. The later commentators forgot the real meaning and interpreted it differently. In their opinion Viśālā was Mahāvīra's mother for which reason he was called Vaiśālika (*Sūtrakṛitāṅga* with the commentary of Śīlāṅkāchārya, II. 3 quoted by Vijayendra Suri, *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., pp. 42-43 and *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, p. 83; also Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*, II. 1. 12. 2 quoted in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, p. 49 and *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 36). No harm, however, is caused if Viśālā here is interpreted in the geographical sense because Bhārata is usually said to be our mother.

Vaiśālī-Vāṇijyagrāma.[1] [No rainy season was spent at Lichchhuad.]

7. He was a Nāya, a Nāyaputta and the moon of the Nāya family (*Nāya-kulachanda*)[2].

8. Buddhist literature also calls Mahāvīra as Nātaputta and Nāṭaputta, *i. e.*, a son of the Jñātris or Jñātis or Jñātas.

9. The Jñātis (pl. *Jñātayaḥ*) are specifically mentioned by the Buddhists in the *Mahāvastu*[3] as administrators of extended territories, living among the Lichchhavis and comparable with the gods.

10. The village Nādika or Ñātika near Vaiśālī seems to have been a village of the Jñātis as explained by Buddhaghosha.[4]

11. The Nirgranthas were an important element in the population of Vaiśālī as is illustrated by the story of Sīha Senāpati.[5]

12. After the death of Mahāvīra the nine Mallas, the nine Lichchhavis and the eighteen gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kosala instituted a festival of lamps to mark the occasion.[6] It is significant that the Magadhas and the Aṅgas are conspicuous here by their non-participation in this festival.

13. On a Vaiśālī seal belonging to the Gupta period the legend reads—'*Veśālināmakuṇḍe Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (*sya*)'.[7] This *Kuṇḍa* is clearly related to Kshatriyakuṇḍa, because no other *Kuṇḍa* in the area is otherwise known.

14. Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Vaiśālī in the seventh century A.D., found the followers of the Nirgranthas to be "very numerous" at that place[8].

15. "The village of Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmdās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma.

1. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 1.2.
2. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 110 (S. B. E., 22, p. 256). *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 17 (S. B. E, 22, p. 194).
3. *Mahāvastu*, Vol I, p. 262.
4. S. A., II, p. 56. *Cf.* D. A., II, p. 543 and M. A., II, p. 424. All quoted in D. P. P. N., I, p. 977.
5. *Vin.* I, pp. 233 ff. A., IV, pp. 179 ff.
6. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 128.
7. See the photograph of the seal in *Homage*, facing p. 81; also in A. S. I. A. R. for 1913-14, plate xlvii (with an account on p. 134, seal no. 200).
8. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 66.

The lands of the village contain "extensive mounds", and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvīra, the great prophet of the Jains and this discovery of the Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name".[1]

16. Kuṇḍagrāma is indicated as a Jaina tīrtha by Jinaprabha Sūri in his book *Tīrthakalpa*[2] which was completed in A. D. 1332. An image of Vīra had been installed there.[3] This book also mentions Khattia-Kuṇḍaggāma-nayara (p. 108) and Vesālī-Vāṇiaggāma (p. 110).

We now proceed to give extracts from the ancient Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī in the Videha country.

Taking up Śvetāmbara scriptures first, we would like to point out that we have already examined the evidence of the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra* (II. 15. 15, 17), the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (1. 2. 3. 22), the *Kalpa-Sūtra* (*sūtras* 110, 122, 128), the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* (VI. 17) and the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra-Ṭīkā* (II. 1. 12. 2) on the question of the very close association of Mahāvīra and Jainism with Vaiśālī-Kuṇḍapura of the Videha country. Vijayendra Suri[4] has shown that Kuṇḍapura, the birthplace of Mahāvīra, has been mentioned in the following Śvetāmbara works, *viz.*, *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* (Hāribhadrīya Ṭīkā), *Mahāvīra-Chariyaṁ* of Nemichandra, *Mahāvīra-Chariyaṁ* of Gunachandra Gaṇī, *Paüma-Chariyaṁ* of Vimala Sūri, *Varāṅga-Charitaṁ* of Jaṭāsiṁha Nandi, and *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇi* (first and second halves). Of these, he has given extracts from two works[5] which we, too, quote below :—

The *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* (page 83, *śloka* 304) says :—

1. V. A. Smith, J R. A. S., 1902, pp. 282-283. The Jaina statue kept in the newly constructed Jaina temple at Basarh seems to be one of the two statues referred to by Smith. We do not know then what became of the second one.

2. Ed. D. R. Bhandarkar and, Kedarnath, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 8, 286.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

4. *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., pp. 40-41. *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

5. *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., pp. 41 and 36 respectively. *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, pp. 82 and 77 respectively.

"अह चित्तसुद्धपक्खस्स तेरसीपुव्वरत्तकालम्मि ।
हत्थुत्तराहिं जाओ कुंडग्गामे महावीरो ॥३०४॥"

Nemichandra Sūri in his *Mahāvīra-Chariyaṁ* (folio 26) says :—

"अत्थि इह भरहवासे मज्झिमदेसस्स मण्डणं परमं ।
सिरिकुण्डगामनयरं वसुमइरमणीतिलयभूयं ॥७॥"

Let us now turn to Digambara scriptures.

Kuṇḍapura, the birthplace of Mahāvīra, is explicitly placed in the Videha country by certain Digambara Jaina texts which we quote below :—

1. Pūjyapāda of the 5th Vikrama century says in his *Daśabhakti* (p.116) :—

"सिद्धार्थनृपतितनयो भारतवास्ये विदेहकुण्डपुरे ।
देव्यां प्रियकारिण्यां सुस्वप्नान् संप्रदर्श्य विभुः ॥४॥"

2. Jinasena of the 8th Vikrama century says in *Hari-vaṁśa-Purāṇa* (I.2) :—

"अथ देशोऽस्ति विस्तारी जम्बूद्वीपस्य भारते ।
विदेह इति विख्यातः स्वर्गखण्डसमः श्रियः ॥१॥
तत्राखण्डलनेत्रालीपद्मिनीखण्डमण्डनम् ।
सुखाम्भःकुण्डमाभाति नाम्ना कुण्डपुरं पुरम् ॥५॥"

3. Gunabhadra of the 9th Vikrama century says in his *Uttara-Purāṇa* (74) :—

"तस्मिन् षण्मासशेषायुष्यानाकादागमिष्यति ।
भरतेऽस्मिन् विदेहाख्ये विषये भवनाङ्गणे ॥२५१॥
राज्ञः कुण्डपुरेशस्य वसुधारापतत्पृथुः ।
सप्तकोटीमणीः मार्द्धाः सिद्धार्थस्य दिनं प्रति ॥२५२॥"

—Page 460, Bharatiya Jnanapith ed.

The same writer says later in that book (75) :—

"विदेहविषये कुण्डसञ्ज्ञायां पुरि भूपतिः ॥७॥
नाथो नाथकुलस्यैकः सिद्धार्थाख्यस्त्रिसिद्धिभाक् ।
तस्य पुण्यानुभावेन प्रियासीत् प्रियकारिणी ॥८॥"

—Page 482, Bharatiya Jnanapith ed.

4. Dāmanandi says in his *Purāṇa-Saṅgraha* (MS.), folio 52 a:—

"अथास्मिन् भारते वर्षे विदेहेषु महर्द्धिषु ।
आसीत्कुण्डपुरं नाम्ना पुरं सुरपुरोपमम् ॥१॥"

5. Sakalakīrti (who died in A.D. 1464) says in his *Vardhamāna-Charitra* (VII):—

"अथेह भारते क्षेत्रे विदेहाभिध ऊर्जितः ।
देशः सद्धर्मसङ्घाद्यैः विदेह इव राजते ॥२॥
इत्यादिवर्णनोपेतदेशस्याभ्यन्तरे पुरम् ।
राजते कुण्डलाभिख्य··· ··· ··· ···॥१०॥"

6. Asaga of A.D. 988 accepts in his *Vardhamāna-Charitra* (XVII.61) that the birthplace of Mahāvīra is Kuṇḍapura but he does not indicate the territory:—

"उन्मीलितावधिदशा सहसा विदित्वा
तज्जन्मभक्तिभरतः प्रणतोत्तमाङ्गाः ।
घण्टानिनादसमवेतनिकायमुख्या
दिष्ट्या ययुस्तदिति कुण्डपुरं सुरेन्द्राः ॥६१॥"

7. Jadi-Vasaha (Sk. Yati-Vṛishabha) of the sixth Vikrama century, author of *Tiloya-paṇṇatti* (Sk. Triloka-prajñapti), says in that book (IV. 549) that Vīra was born at Kuṇḍala; but he, too, like Asaga of a later age, does not indicate the territory —

"सिद्धत्थरायपियकारिणीहिंणयरम्भि कुडले वीरो ।
उत्तरफग्गुणिरिक्खे चित्तसियातेरसीए उप्पणो ॥५४९॥"[1]

Peculiarly enough, some Digambara books place Vaiśālī, whose chief was Cheṭaka, in Sindhu-vishaya or Sindhu-deśa:—

1. "सिन्ध्वाख्ये विषये भूभृद्वैशालीनगरेऽभवत् ।
चेटकाख्योऽतिविख्यातो विनीतः परमार्हतः ॥३॥"

—*Uttara-Purāṇa* (75).

2. "सद्युक्ते सिन्धुदेशे वै विशाला नगरी मता ।
चेटकाख्यः पतिस्तस्य सुभद्रा महिषी मता ॥"

—*Vimala-Purāṇa*.

3. "भ्रमन्सन्नेकदायातः सिन्धुदेशे मनोहरे ।
सिन्धुवेला समुद्रासिक्षेत्रशालोचट्टकप्रिये (?) ॥७॥
विशालाख्या पुरी तत्र वर्तते शालमण्डिता ।
धनधान्यनिधानैश्च देवनाथस्य पूरिव ॥८॥

1. Of these, No. 3 (second part) is quoted by Vijayendra Suri in his *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., p 40 and *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, p. 81 and No 7 in *B. P. Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, pp. 612, f. n. and 626, f. n.; the remaining six quotations are collected by K. Bhujbali Sastri in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 10 (December, 1943), pp. 60-61, footnotes.

सामन्तभवसंसेव्यश्चेटकः पतितां पुरीम् ।
तस्याग्रमहिषी रम्या सुभद्रा सुखकारिणी ॥१॥"

—*Śreṇika-Charitra.*

4. "सिन्धुदेशे विशालाख्यपत्तने चेटको नृपः ।
श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रपादाब्जसेवनैकमधुव्रतः ॥४॥"[1]

—*Ārādhanā-Kathā-Kosha.*

What may be the reasons of the Digambara Jaina scriptures saying that Vaiśālī was in Sindhu-deśa?

As evidently Vaiśālī was not situated in Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kamta Prasad Jain[2] suggests two reasons:—Firstly, it may be that the authors have equated Sindhu-deśa with Vṛiji-deśa[3]; and secondly, there might have been a confusion especially because Ujjayinī in Avanti, too, was called Viśālā[4] and there was a Sindhu river in the adjoining territory for which reason it was called Sindhu-deśa in the middle ages (8th to 15th centuries A. D.). The Digambara writers, K. P. Jain adds, lived more in the Ujjayinī side and hence they appear to have confused Ujjayinī (which was also called Viśālā) for the real Viśālā, little knowing that another Viśālā, different from their own, existed in Eastern India; moreover, Vaiśālī lay in ruins as we know from the account of Hiuen Tsiang, and this factor might have helped the Jaina writers in forgetting the real Vaiśālī.[5]

The vicissitudes of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and centre and the circumstances in which the Jainas came to forget the birthplace of their last Tīrthaṅkara constitute an important

1. These four quotations are collected by Kamta Prasad Jain in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3 (September, 1936), p 50, foot-note.

2. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, p. 51

3. We suggest that Sindhu-deśa literally means 'the Country of Rivers' and Tīrabhukti, too, has a similar meaning, *i.e.*, 'the Province situated on the Banks (of Rivers)'. We also know that from the Gupta period onwards Videha came to be known as Tīrabhukti (*cf.* the legends on the seals which give this word, A. S. I. A. R., 1903-1904, p 109). And in poetry synonyms are used without any hesitation. We are confirmed in our belief when we find that the Jaina *Uttara-Purāṇa* places the territory of Cheṭaka near Rājagṛiha, the Magadhan capital—

"कदाचिच्चेटको गत्वा ससैन्यो मागधं पुरम् ।
राजद्राजगृहं बाह्योद्याने स्थानपुरस्सरम् ॥"

This means that these were neighbouring states.

4. *Cf.* Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta* (I. 30).

5. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, pp. 51-52.

topic of absorbing interest in Indian religious history and have not so far been investigated into in detail. From this point of view the known course of the Jaina history of Vaiśālī (and for this reason, of North Bihar in general) may be divided into four parts as indicated below:—

I. Rise and Ascendancy : *Circa* 600 B. C. to *C.* A. D. 600 (twelve centuries).

North Bihar (including Vaiśālī) occupied a prominent position in the earlier stage of the history of Jainism which made considerable progress in the life-time of Mahāvīra and in the reigns of Mahāpadma Nanda, Chandragupta Maurya and Samprati of Magadha. The late Śuṅga and the early Śaka-Kushāna periods "(*c.* 150 B. C. to 100 A D.) marked a phase of affluence and artistic activity on the site"[1] of the Garh area of Basarh (Vaiśālī), as its recent excavation indicates.[2] Vaiśālī was a prosperous provincial capital city in the Gupta period (fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries A. D.). This is proved by the marriage of Kumāradevī, a Lichchhavi princess, with Chandra-Gupta I, the first Gupta Emperor, the viruda 'Lichchhavi-dauhitra' employed by Samudra-Gupta, the product of this marriage, for himself, the numerous seals found at Vaiśālī,[3] the account of Fahien (A. D. 399-414), the Chinese traveller, its mention in an ancient Chinese source of A. D. 517,[4] and the reports of excavations[5] carried on here in 1903-04, 1913-14, February 1950 and since January 1958. It was a centre of trade, art, learning and corporate life.[6] Followers

1. Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations : 1950*, Vaiśālī, 1961, p. 3.

2. A. S. Altekar is of the view that "at about 100 A D. there was a change in the bed of the Gaṇḍaka or one of its tributaries" (J. B R. S., Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, p. 506, f. n. 8). If it is so, this date assumes special significance.

3. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04, pp. 81-122. *Ibid.* for 1913-14, pp. 98-185.

4. *Fan Fan Yü* (chapters 43-55, 60-61), being a Chinese dictionary of Indian geographical names compiled in A.D. 517 from literature and accounts of travellers, ed. Raghu Vira (Lahore, 1943), mentions Vaiśālī and the adjoining region frequently. The references are too many to be indicated here.

5. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04, pp 81-122. *Ibid.* for 1913-14, pp. 98-185. *Vaisali Excavations : 1950*. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58—*A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1958, pp. 10-11. *Ibid.* for 1958-59, p. 12. *Ibid.* for 1959-60, pp. 14 and 16. *Ibid.* for 1960-61.

6. Yogendra Mishra, *Vaiśālī kī Jhānkī*, Patna, 1953, pp. 118-119.

of different religions lived here peacefully.[1] Later it declined presumably due to the ravages of some invaders or natural calamity or calamities.[2] "The Garh area was deserted after the Late Gupta Period, *i. e.*, in *C.* 600 A. D."[3]

II. Gradual Decline : *Circa* A. D. 600 to *C.* A. D. 1400 (eight centuries).

When Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629-645), the Buddhist traveller from China, visited Vaiśālī in the seventh century A. D., he found that "the capital city of Vaiśālī (*or*, called Vaiśālī) is to a great extent in ruins."[4] "There are several hundred *saṅghārāmas*, which are mostly dilapidated."[5] About the position of Jainism in that town he says : "The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous."[6] This is the last occasion when we have a definite proof of the existence of a good Jaina population at Vaiśālī. Proceeding to the subsequent period, there is evidence to show that images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras were (made and) honoured here in what is usually called the Pāla period (*C.* 750-1200). Jaina writers like Jinasena (eighth Vikrama century) and Guṇabhadra (ninth Vikrama century) know Kuṇḍapura to be in Videha.

But after this comes a period when the Jainas gradually forget their real tradition and the real birthplace of their prophet. Asaga of the eleventh Vikrama century mentions Kuṇḍapura, but does not say that it lay in Videha. Some Digambara Jaina works faintly remembered that Viśālā was

1. *Ibid.*

2. About Pāṭaliputra it is known that it perished probably towards the end of the sixth century A D. due to "a terrific and unprecedented flood" of the Ganges and the Sone, "which has been described in a Jaina work called *Titthogālī Paiṇṇaya*" (Motichandra, 'Some Jaina Traditions and Archaeology', *Premi-Abhinandana-Grantha*, Tikamgarh, 1946, pp. 230-240) [A. S. Altekar and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951-1955*, Patna, 1959, p. 12]. Some such thing is possible in the case of Vaiśālī also.

3. *Vaisali Excavations : 1950*, p. 5. Strangely enough, Pāṭaliputra was deserted at the same time, *i e.*, towards the end of the sixth century A. D. "The excavations at Kumrahar...showed that the area was deserted from about 600 A. D. to 1600 A. D" (Altekar and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 12). Also see p. 20 : "In most of the sites of Kumrahar excavated by us, we did not get any signs of habitation from the 7th century A. D. to about the 16th century."

4. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, London, 1884, p. 66.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

in Sindhu-vishaya or Sindhu-deśa. Thus to them Tīrabhukti became Sindhu-vishaya. Madanakīrti, a Digambara Jaina of Ujjayinī, describes twenty-six Jaina tīrthas in his small poetical book called *Śāsanachatustriṁśikā*,[1] but Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma or Vaiśālī does not find a place there. Peculiarly enough, another person, of a foreign country and a different faith, visiting India almost exactly at the time when the above-noted author was writing his book, also does not mention the Nirgranthas (Jainas) of Vaiśālī. Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1197-1264), a Tibetan monk pilgrim[2] of Buddhist faith, who visited India in A. D. 1234-1236, passed through this place in the summer season of 1234 while proceeding to Magadha and in the same season in 1236 on his return journey from Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya) and Nālandā. When he "reached the city of Vaiśālī" in 1234, hewas "told that the inhabitants were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka troops."[3] He found a "stone image of the Ārya Tārā"[4] and "a female lay-supporter was seen staying in the street."[5] But he does not say even a word whether there were Jainas or not. We are of the view that while some Buddhists were still there in the thirteenth century, there was probably no Jaina population worth the name left at Vaiśālī at the time. Still fewer Jainas might have remained there a century later when Jinaprabha Sūri recorded in his book *Tīrthakalpa* (completed in A. D. 1332) that an image of Vīra was at Kuṇḍagrāma[6]

1 See the article of Darbarilal Jain Kothiya on this book in *Brahmachāriṇī Paṇḍitā Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, Arrah, 1954, pp. 403-409. He places the writing of this book in A. D 1228 I, however, feel that it could not have been written earlier than A. D. 1234, because it mentions the Muslim invasion and sack of Malwa, which event took place in that year (for an epigraphical corroboration of this event see *Epigraphia Indica*, 1957, pp. 145, 151, verse 48, lines 62-64), also, he was a junior contemporary of Paṇḍita Āśādhara who wrote between A. D. 1228 and 1243.

2. See George N. Roerich (decipherer and translator), Chos-dar's *Biography of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk pilgrim*, with an introduction by A. S. Altekar (Patna, 1959) Chapter IV ('Stay at Vaiśālī') deals with Vaiśālī (pp. 61-62). This city, which lay between the Ganges and Simraon or Sīmārāmapaṭṭana (called Pa-ta by the pilgrim), the capital of King Rāmasiṁhadeva (A. D. 1227-1285) of Tirhut, is not noticed at all in his return journey (Ch. XI, 'Return to Tirhut', p. 98).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

6. *Tīrthakalpa*, D. R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath (ed.), Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 286-287 (*Kuṇḍagrāme...Vīraḥ*).

which place he mentions on two occasions[1] in his book while giving lists[2] of famous Jaina tīrthas of the time. It is surprising that though this book contains fifty-nine chapters devoted to different tīrthas, no independent chapter has been allotted by the Jaina author to the birthplace of his last Tīrthaṅkara.

What are, then, the possible reasons for this gradual decline of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and centre?

The destruction of the main city[3] sometime in the sixth century A.D. and its desertion in C. 600 A.D.[4] must have been a great death-blow to Vaiśālī. "Changes in the river-beds at Vaiśālī were frequent."[5] This added fuel to the fire. Moreover, as Śrāvastī[6] and Pāṭaliputra[7] also were in ruins, the trade-route from Śrāvastī to Pāṭaliputra via Vaiśālī ceased to function actively. The commercial importance of the intermediate city passed away. This must have affected the mercantile Jaina community of North Bihar adversely. The decline in the economic prosperity (besides political reasons) must have been at least partly responsible for the migrations of Vaisalian people

1. *Ibid.*, pp 8, 286.
2. For these lists see *ibid.*, pp. 8 (three *ślokas*), 282-287.
3. As testified to by Hiuen Tsiang.
4. As testified to by the archaeological excavation of the Garh area in February 1950.
5. A. S. Altekar, J. B R. S. Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, p. 506, f. n. 8. For example, we know from *Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharitra* (X. 4. 138-139) of Hemachandra Sūri (A. D 1088-1172) that Vaiśālī Nagarī and Vānijakagrāma (=Vāṇijyagrāma) were situated on the Gaṇḍakikā (=Gaṇḍaka or Gaṇḍakī) river in the time of Bhagavān (Mahāvīra) and probably in the time of that celebrated Jaina author himself who wrote to that effect; at present the river is a few miles away from these villages (called Basarh and Bania respectively). We do not know when exactly the changes occurred. It may incidentally be noted that the change in the course of the Sone river is dated in A D. 1379 as mentioned by McCrindle in his *India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (see my Hindi translation, *Megasthenes kā Bhārata-vivaraṇa*, Patna, 1951, p. 151, note).
6. Writing about Śrāvastī, the chief town of the kingdom of this name, Hiuen Tsiang says (Beal, Vol. II, pp. 1-2):—"The chief town is desert and ruined....Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants. .There are several hundreds of *saṅghārāmas*, mostly in ruin, with very few religious followers."
7. About Pāṭali (pura) Hiuen Tsiang says (Beal, Vol. II, p.86):—"Now there only remain the old foundation walls (*of the city*). The *saṅghārāmas*, Deva temples, and *stūpas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (*entire*)."

to Nepal,[1] Burma,[2] and possibly Tibet and Ladak.[3]

By far, the most important cause of the gradual decline of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha was a diversion of Jainism towards South and West India. "The centre of activities of its adherents" shifted "from the land of its birth, Bihar, to those of Karṇāṭaka, Andhra-desh, Tamilnad, Western India, Rajputana and Gujarat, where it flourished under the patronage of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Kalachuris, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Solaṅkīs."[4] The result was that the Jainas lost all contact with Vaiśālī. They forgot their traditions about it. The Jaina temples of Rajasthan and Gujarat and the patronage of this sect by the South and West Indian kings diverted their attention to that part of the country. The Jaina munis and authors also concentrated their attention on that very side.

Simultaneously, there was growth of Buddhism in Eastern India (Bihar-Bengal region). This had been especially facilitated by the Buddhist universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Uḍyantapura and Vajrāsana all of which were situated in South Bihar. Contrary to popular notions, North Bihar was not completely away from the main current of Buddhism. There were many Buddhist sites in North Bihar as well in the period 600-1200 A.D. They acted either as vihāras or as places of Buddhist worship where many images of the Buddhist religion have been discovered. More important of these sites, arranged district-wise, are as follows:—

Muzaffarpur—Kolhua in the Vaiśālī area (a good image of the Buddha with an inscription of the Pāla period); Ponjha, a village two miles east of Goraul railway station (an image of the Buddha was found here three years ago— a new site,

1. The Lichchhavis ruled in Nepal up to A. D. 879-880. For their history see D R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1960) and references given thereunder.

2. R. C Majumdar, 'Vaiśālī and Greater India', *Homage*, pp. 43-44, who says that Wethali (Vaiśālī) in Arakan "was built in 789 A. D. by a king of the Chandra dynasty" (p. 43). Also E I, 1957, pp. 103-109.

3. 'The kings of Tibet and Ladak also trace their descent from the Lichchhavis" (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1924, p. 517).

4. R. R. Diwakar (General Editor), *Bihar Through the Ages*, Orient Longmans, 1959, p. 415. *Cf.* C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India, 800 B. C.—A. D. 526*, pp. 216-217 and Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism* (Poona, 1956), p. 104.

not noticed so far).[1]

Darbhanga—Chaugama, Pandaul, Jarahatiya, Andhra-Tharhi.

Monghyr (north of the Ganges)—Naulagarh, Jayamangalagarh, Bihat, Samho. Of these, the first two[2] are most important, probably second only to Vaiśālī (in North Bihar).

Saharsa—Mathahi, Mehisi, Birpur, Srinagar.

Purnea—Gorodih.

Brahmanism also was not idle in North Bihar in this period. There was great intellectual and philosophical activity here. "An important cause for the development of the Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā philosophies here might be that Mithilā was under obligation to protect orthodox culture from the onslaught of all heterodox schools of thought including Jainism and Buddhism. This explains the rise of great Naiyāyikas and Mīmāṁsakas between A. D. 700 and 1000".[3] The most important names connected with the growth of Nyāya philosophy in North Bihar are Udyotakara (A. D. 635), Vāchaspati Miśra (A. D. 841) of village Tharhi in Darbhanga district and Udayana or Udayanāchārva (A. D. 984) of village Kariyan in the same district; while those of Mīmāmsā philosophy are Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Maṇḍana Miśra, Prabhākara and Murāri Miśra. Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya (13th century) of village Mangrauni in the Darbhanga district founded the Navya Nyāya school of Mithilā and was followed by a host of other scholars. All of these defended Brahmanism vigorously against heterodox and Buddhist criticism.

Possibly the Muslims at the time of the conquest of Bihar and Bengal persecuted not only the Buddhists, but also the Jainas if they might have been there.[4] We have seen how in

1. See *The Indian Nation* of February 19, 1959, announcing the unearthing of the Buddha's stone image.

2. The authorities of the Ganesh Dutt College, Begusarai, are taking active interest in these sites and have published some bulletins also relating to them.

3. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 336. For a brief and systematic treatment of the development of Brahmanical philosophical schools in North Bihar see pp. 336-339 (Nyāya and Mīmāmsā Philosophies), 412-415 (Navya Nyāya), 439-441 (Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit), 548 (works on philosophy in the Mughal period) of this book.

4. The Muslim persecution of the Jainas in Malwa has been referred to by two Jaina authors, *viz.*, Madanakīrti of the early thirteenth century (*Śāsanachatustriṁśikā*, stanza 34) and Jinaprabha Sūri of the early

the time of Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1234) the inhabitants of Vaiśālī "were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka troops."[1] Not only that. "All the inhabitants had fled at dawn from fear of the Turushka soldiery." Later, "the soldiery left for Western India",[2] to the relief of all. But it shows that the political condition was not conducive to a sense of security. At last, the Hindu state of Tirhut (North Bihar) was conquered by the Turki Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq of Delhi in A. D. 1324, which event must have invited Muslim preachers in a large number for propagation of Islam in North Bihar.

III. Complete Neglect : *Circa* A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1948 (five and a half centuries).

The factors analysed above led to the complete neglect of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha.

Jainism and Buddhism were replaced in the Vaiśālī area by Islam. Sheikh Muhammad Qazin[3] (A. D. 1434-1495) of the Shuttari order preached Islam at Vaiśālī in the fifteenth century and his mausoleum was made on a high Buddhist stūpa in that village. This and the additional emphasis in the succeeding age on sea trade (from A. D. 1498 onwards) and the possible changes in the course of the Gaṇḍaka river making Vaiśālī distant from the river bank must have discouraged the Jainas from taking interest in Vaiśālī.

While Jainism was being completely cut off from North Bihar due to various circumstances in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, there seems to have occurred a new awakening in the Jaina world in South Bihar in this and the subsequent periods.[4] The Rajgir-Pawapuri-Bihar Sharif area acted as

fourteenth century (*Tīrthakalpa*, ch 32, 'Abhinandanadevakalpa'). I owe this reference to an article in *B P. Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, pp. 407-408.

1. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, p 61
2. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
3. Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 26-27.
4. This generalisation of ours is based on several inscriptions belonging mainly to the fifteenth and subsequent centuries found in Jaina shrines in South Bihar for which see Puran Chand Nahar's volumes on *Jaina Inscriptions* (*Jaina-Lekha-Saṅgraha*). Strangely enough, not even one Jaina inscription is found north of the Ganges, which proves our thesis.

the centre of this activity. Rajgir (Rājagṛiha) had been a Jaina tīrtha ever since the time of Mahāvīra. The Jaina associations of Pawapur or Pawapuri are traced to the beginning of the thirteenth century when an image of Śrī Mahāvīra was installed there in A.D. 1203.[1] Madanakīrti, writing in the second quarter of that century, mentions Pāvāpura (with its image of Śrī Vīra Jina) as one of the twenty-six Jaina tīrthas of his time. Jinaprabha Sūri of the next century (A.D. 133[illegible]) devotes two full chapters[2] to Pāvāpurī in his book *Tīrthakalpa*, besides stray references[3] in other parts thereof. Thus the position of Pawapuri as a Jaina tīrtha, believed to be the place of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa, had been well-established by the fourteenth century.

After the establishment of this nirvāṇa tīrtha, the Jaina community, it appears, made frantic efforts to find out in the vicinity the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra.[4] the son of the Jñātṛika leader of Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍalapura and the maternal son of a Lichchhavi chief. The Digambara Jainas found a village bearing the name Kundalpur near Nālandā.[5] The Śvetāmbara Jainas found a village called Lachhwāḍ or Lachhuār in South Monghyr. These came to be regarded as birthplaces by the respective sects concerned. Temples and dharmaśālās were constructed and the Jaina public began to make pilgrimages to these spots. Thus the real birthplace was forgotten and other places came to be believed as birthplaces.

A suitable instance of the complete neglect of Mahāvīra's (real) birthplace is provided by a Śvetāmbara Sanskrit text called *Tīrthamālā-chaityavandana*[6] written by an anonymous Jaina writer probably in the seventeenth century A.D.[7] The interest of this small poem, which consists of five stanzas only, lies in the list of ancient Jaina tīrthas which it contains.

1. Puran Chand Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions (Jaina-Lekha-Saṅgraha)*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1927, p. 263.
2. *Tīrthakalpa*, ch. 14 (p. 82), ch 21 (pp. 107-159).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 8 (Apāpā), 41 (Pāvā), 282 (Pāpā), 287 (*Apāpāyāṁ... Vīrah*).
4. K. Bhujbali Sastri, *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol 10, p 60.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Charlotte Krause (ed.), *Ancient Jaina Hymns*, Scindia Oriental Series No 2, Ujjain, 1952, pp. 52-64 (remarks on the text), 118 (text), 127 (critical apparatus), 133 (notes).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Their total number is seventy-six. Out of them some are mythological, while some others are hitherto unidentified. This long list does not include Vaiśālī or Kuṇḍapura. Entire oblivion seems to have enveloped these genuine tīrthas.

IV. Revival : Since A.D. 1948.

This complete neglect continued till the year 1948 when for the first time during the recent centuries the Jainas worshipped Mahāvīra at his birthplace, Vaiśālī, on the 21st April (Chait *sudī* 13) of that year, through the exertions of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha,[1] a cultural organisation founded on March 31, 1945. This has become a regular feature. Since its very inception the Saṅgha, though a non-sectarian institution, began a regular movement for the identification and revival of Mahāvīra's birthplace and published literature in this connection.[2] It was due to the efforts of this body that excavations were carried on at Vaiśālī in February 1950 through money donated by Jaina philanthropists[3], and the Vaiśālī Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahiṁsā came into existence and has been functioning since December 1, 1955, under the control and direction of the Government of Bihar. Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and a cultural centre has been resurrected.

PROGRESS OF JAINISM IN THE VAJJI COUNTRY IN THE LIFE-TIME OF MAHĀVĪRA

The fact that Vaiśālī-Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara of Jainism, must have been a great factor for the spread of his cult in that area. It gave him local influence : he was a child of the soil and hence claimed its first attention. The Jñātṛika clan, to which he belonged, seems to be wide-spread and not limited to

1. For the early history of this organisation see *Homage to Vaiśālī* (ed. J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra), Vaiśālī, 1948, pp. 185-204; *A Scheme for the Vaiśālī Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology*, Vaiśālī, 1952; and *Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa*, *Calendar* 1955-1960, Muzaffarpur, 1961 (esp. pp. iv-xi dealing with 'The Institute and the Vaiśālī Saṅgha' by J. C. Mathur).

2. S.C. Sarkar and Yogendra Mishra (ed.), *Vaiśālī*, Muzaffarpur, 1945. Yogendra Mishra, *Identification of Mahāvīra's Birthplace*, Vaiśālī, 1947; also its Hindi version (1948). J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra (ed.), *Homage to Vaiśālī*, Vaiśālī, 1948.

3. The report has since been published.

Kuṇḍagrāma (Kuṇḍapura). There were Jñātṛis at Vāṇijyagrāma[1]. They appear to be inhabiting also a village called Ñātika presumably after them[2]. Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā was a sister of Cheṭaka, one of the Lichchhavi 'Rājās' of Vaiśālī. The Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent.[3] And Jainism was not a new religion for the people of the Vaiśālī area, because Mahāvīra's parents (and with them probably the whole clan of the Nāya Kshatriyas[4]) are said to have been followers of the tenets of Pārśvanātha,[5] the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of Jainism. When Mahāvīra, who was taken to be the successor of Pārśvanātha, appeared, the members of his clan naturally became his devoted followers. Besides the magnetic personality of Mahāvīra, his preaching activity was also considerable. He did not allow his disciples to leave his school easily.[6] That he explained Jaina doctrines at Vaiśālī is also attested to by Buddhist *Tripiṭaka*. In the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, III, 74, a learned prince of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, Abhaya, gives an account of some Nigaṇṭha doctrines. The Jaina counterpart to these tenets can be collected from the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, XXIX, § § 27, 37, 71 and XXXII, § § 7, 34, 47, 60, 73, 86, 99. Another piece of information about Mahāvīra's preaching at Vaiśālī may be gathered from the *Mahāvagga*, VI. 31 (S. B. E., 17, pp. 108 ff) where we have the conversation between Sīha, the general of the Lichchhavis, and Mahāvīra. The views propounded may be found in the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, 1. 12. 21 (S. B. E., 45, p. 319) and the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, I. 1. 1. 4 (S. B. E., 22, p. 2).[7] Mahāvīra spent no less than twelve

1. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 42 and n. 119.
2. Buddhaghosha's statements, on which this hypothesis of ours is based, are quoted in D. P. P. N., I, p. 977.
3. Jacobi, S. B. E., 22. p. xiii. The Buddhists took no notice of Cheṭaka because his influence was used in the interest of their rivals (*ibid.*).
4. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 243.
5. *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 16 (S. B. E., 22, p. 194). *Cf. Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 6, note 8.
6. Illustrated by the story of Sīha.
7. S. B. E. 45, pp. xv-xvi.

rainy seasons in Vaiśālī-Vāṇijyagrāma.[1] This is significant because he got a good opportunity of preaching at one particular place his teachings among the people.[2] The result was that many groups of people, *e. g.*, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Ugras and Lichchhavis[3] and also the Nāyas of Vāṇijyagrāma[4] entered the Jaina order. To the latter category belonged Ānanda[5], a staunch follower of Mahāvīra. An important Nirgrantha of Vaiśālī was Sachchaka, who had two interviews with the Buddha as recorded in the *Chūla-Sachchaka*[6] and *Mahā-Sachchaka*[7] *Suttas*. He is addressed as Aggivessana, that being his gotra name. His parents were Nirgranthas, skilled debaters, who married at the suggestion of the Lichchhavis, because they were unable to defeat each other in argument[8]. Another influential Jaina at Vaiśālī was Sīha who, according to Buddhist sources, later accepted Buddhism. It is stated that the chief patrons of Jainism in the time of the Buddha were Sīhasenāpati in Vaiśālī, Upāligahapati in Nālandā and Vappa the Sakyan in Kapilavatthu.[9] The chief centres of the Nirgranthas (Jainas) in the time of the Buddha seem to have been Vaiśālī and Nālandā, though they had settlements in other important towns, such as Rājagriha.[10]

The respect in which Mahāvīra was held by the Lichchhavis is indicated by the fact that after the death of Mahāvīra[11] at Pāvā the nine Mallakis (Mallas), the nine Lichchhakis (Lichchhavis) and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of

1. *Kalpasūtra*, *sūtra* 122. He spent 11th, 14th, 20th, 31st, 32nd and 35th rainy seasons of his 42 year ascetic life at Vaiśālī and 15th, 17th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, and 30th rainy seasons at Vāṇijyagrāma (see *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II).

2. The Buddha spent only two rainy seasons at Vaiśālī (5th at Kūṭāgāraśālā and 45th at Beluvagāmaka).

3. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, I. 13. 10 in S. B. E., 45, p. 321 (by implication).

4. *Uvāsagadasāo*, lecture 2.

5. The story of Ānanda and his wife Śivanandā is related in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, pp. 7-9.

6. M., I, pp. 227-237.

7. M., I, pp. 237-251.

8. *Chulla-Kāliṅga-Jātaka*, No 301 (Vol. III).

9. A. A., II, p. 751. D. P. P.N., II, p. 64, n.

10. D. P. P. N., II, p. 64.

11. See an article on the *tithi* of Mahāvīra's death (which fell in the month of Kārtika) with original quotations by K. Bhujbali Sastri in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, pp. 134-139.

Kāśī-Kosala instituted an illumination; for they said: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter !'[1]. One remarkable fact about this is that the Magadhas[2] or the Aṅgas do not participate in the illumination festival; moreover, all the participants are republicans (whether they be of North Bihar or of Eastern U. P.).[3]

1. *Kalpasūtra, sūtra* 128 (S. B. E., 22, p. 266).

2. The non-participation of Ajātaśatru (king of Magadha and Aṅga) shows that the place of the Lord's death was not near Rājagṛiha, but in the Malla country, north of the Ganges, where the Mallas, the Lichchhavis and the Kāśī-Kosala Ganarājas assembled to pay their last respects to the Lord (see *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed.. pp. 87-88).

3. This is not the case with the participants in the distribution of the relics of the Buddha, because there we find Magadhan monarchists also claiming a share for themselves.

CHAPTER XVII

AJIVIKISM AND BRAHMANISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

We have so far reviewed the progress of Buddhism and Jainism in the Vaiśālī region. Now we propose to review other religious systems.

In order to complete the Śramaṇa religions[1] we may first take up Ajivikism here.

AJIVIKISM AND NAKED ASCETICISM

Vaiśālī seems to have played an important part in the evolution of the Ājīvika religion and it was one of the principal seats of the naked ascetics who may be interpreted as free-lance Ājīvikas or proto-Ājīvikas,[2] if we do not accept them as the followers of Makkhali Gosāla or members of the organised Ājīvika sect.

The immediate predecessor of Gosāla, Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta, who is distinguished from his own predecessors by a gotra name or patronymic, is regarded by A. L. Basham[3] as a real person, the period of whose life overlapped with that of Gosāla, and whose name was well-known to his contemporaries. According to the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*[4] a particular soul passed from the body of a teacher (who is named) to the body of Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta at the Koṇḍiyāyana Chaitya outside Vesālī and remained incarnate in his body for seventeen years after which period it passed to the body of Gosāla Mankhaliputta (the founder of the historical Ājīvika religion) where it remained for sixteen years. A. L. Basham feels tempted to identify this immediate predecessor of Gosāla with a Śākya teacher Arjuna of Kapila-

1. The term 'Śramaṇa' religions (as distinguished from 'Brāhmaṇa' religion) connotes Buddhism, Jainism and Ājivikism.

2. For these convenient terms see A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (London, 1951), pp. 103, 107.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

4. *Bh. Sū.* XV. 550, fol. 674.

vastu, mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*[1] as the preceptor of the future Buddha. As a Śākya this teacher would belong to the Gautama gotra[2] and his generation, according to the Buddhist tradition, was that immediately preceding the Buddha's and therefore also that of Makkhali Gosāla. Thus probably the Śākya teacher became in his later life a wandering ascetic, teaching in the neighbourhood of Vesālī, where he came in contact with the young Gosāla, and strongly influenced his views.[3] It has been suggested[4] that even before Gosāla's ministry the regions of Kāśī, Kosala, Magadha, Videha (including Vaiśālī) and Champā were the homes of peripatetic naked philosophers of the Ājīvika type who aimed at gaining the support of the populace, and very often obtained it.

That the Ājīvikas were at Vaiśālī is proved by a *Vinaya* story as well.[5] While at Vaiśālī the Buddha's followers found themselves with more food than they required and gave their surplus to those ascetics who accepted leavings. An Ājīvika who had been thus fed by the Bhikkhus was later overheard by one of them telling a fellow Ājīvika of the food which he had obtained from the "shaven-headed house-holder" (*muṇḍa-gahapatika*), Gotama. The Bhikkhus reported the matter to their Master, who forbade the distribution of surplus food to mendicants of other orders in future. This story may be the traditional explanation of a hardening and worsening of relations between the two sects, which perhaps took place in the Buddha's life-time. Its implication is that the breach arose from the discourteous conduct of the Ājīvikas.[6]

The *Pāṭika-Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*[7] mentions two naked ascetics who were residing at Vaiśālī, *viz*., Kandaramasuka and Pāṭikaputta. Kandara-masuka maintained seven life-long vows of which only the first was taken by the organised Ājīvika community. This is : "As long as I live I will be

1. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, p. 146.
2. D. P. P. N., *s. v.* Gotama.
3. *The Ājīvikas*, p. 34. Also see p. 44.
4. *Ibid*., p. 95.
5. *Vin*., IV, p. 91.
6. *The Ājīvikas*, p. 137.
7. *Dialogues*, III, pp. 14 ff.

naked, and will not put on a garment" (*Yāvaj-jīvaṃ achelako*...
......). The formula *Yāvaj-jīvaṃ*, which precedes each of the seven vows, is regarded significant by Basham[1] in whose opinion it suggests the possibility that the word Ājīvika may be derived from some such phrase as *ā jīvat*, "as long as life". This view was originally put forward by Kern and is now strongly supported by Basham.

Pūraṇa Kassapa, one of the six well-known teachers, contemporaneous with the Buddha, had some influence over the Vaiśālī people because he was consulted by the Lichchhavis Abhaya[2] and Mahālı[3] and by the wanderer Vachchhagotta.[4]

BRAHMANISM

We do not possess much material on this subject. Whatsoever material is available in Buddhist literature, depicts Brahmanism in general and not of any particular region like Vaiśālī. Generally speaking, we do not consider it proper to utilise here such material as it has no individuality and may be used for other regions with equal justification.

From what has been said already it is clear that in the Vajji country Buddhism and Jainism could make much headway. This, however, should not be construed to mean that there were no Brāhmanas at Vaiśālī at all. The truth is far from it. The northern part of the Vaiśālī city was called in Jaina literature Uttara-Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura while the southern was Dakshiṇa-Brāhmana-Kuṇḍapura. This southern portion was either Vaiśālī proper or was situated between Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura and Vaiśālī proper. In Buddhist literature we come across many Brāhmaṇa disciples of the Buddha who belonged to Vaiśālī and it may not be out of place to mention here some known cases.

Kāraṇapālī was a Brāhmana employed as superintendent of works by the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī. One morning he saw Piṅgiyānī evidently returning from somewhere and on enquiry learnt that he had been to see the Buddha. Having heard

1. *The Ājīvikas*, p 103.
2. S, V, p. 126.
3. S., III, p. 68.
4. S., IV, p. 398.

praises of the Buddha from Piṅgiyānī, Kāraṇapālī knelt on the ground and expressed his homage to the Buddha[1].

Piṅgiyānī, mentioned above, was another Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. On another occasion, he is present when 500 Lichchhavis come to pay honour to the Buddha at the Kūṭāgāraśālā. The sight of the Buddha, sitting in their midst, outshining them all, inspires Piṅgiyānī and he bursts into song. The Lichchhavis give him 500 upper garments, all of which he presents to the Buddha.[2]

Valliya Thera belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī. Much struck by the Buddha when he came to Vaiśālī, he joined the Order under Mahā-Kachchāyana.[3]

Dāsaka Thera was a learned Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī who entered the Buddhist Order for the purpose of studying the Doctrine.[4]

Pañcha-sīlasamādāniya Thera belonged to a family of Mahāśāla Brāhmaṇas in Vaiśālī and became an Arahant at the age of five.[5]

Rohiṇī Therī was the daughter of a prosperous Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, she heard him preach and entered the Buddhist Order.[6]

The Kshatriya population was obviously more important than the Brāhmaṇa one in the body politic, because we hear that the Lichchhavis, the most important element in the Vajjian Republic, were Kshatriyas.[7] Other clans inhabiting the Vaiśālī region were also of the same stock.

Determined efforts were made by the Buddha and Mahāvīra to gain adherents from amongst the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas, the evidence for which has been supplied before.

No clear picture of the religious beliefs and practices of the four Brahmanical castes of the Vaiśālī region is available. We get names of Brahmanical (Vedic) gods in some *Suttas*

1. A , III, pp. 236-239 *Cf.* A. A., II, p. 636.
2. A., III, pp. 239-240. *Cf.* A. A., II, p. 636.
3. *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā*, I, pp. 292 ff. *Cf. Theragāthā*, verses 167-168.
4. *Mahāvaṁsa*, V. 104 ff. *Dīpavaṁsa*, IV. 28 ff; V. 77 ff. For other references see D. P. P. N , I, p. 1076.
5. *Apadāna*, I, 76 ff.
6. *Therīgāthā*, verses 271-290.
7. *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*. Also see *supra*.

of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*,[1] but as nothing is stated about the Vaiśālī region, we cannot say which of the deities were honoured in this particular area. On the basis of the physical characteristics of the country we may be fairly sure of two religious features of the Vaiśālī region, *viz.*, sacred character of rivers like the Ganges and the Gaṇḍaka and worship of a particular type of stone, called śālagrāma, which is found in abundance in the upper part of the Gaṇḍaka river, also called Śālagrāmī and Nārāyaṇī for this reason. As is well-known, "the *śāligrāma*, a fossil ammonite taken as a symbol of Viṣṇu to be deposited among brahmin Lares and Penates,[2] is generally understood to be from the Gaṇḍak river, for proper sanctity"[3]. Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi is of the view that "the custom may be as old as the *ŚB* passage"[4] (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I. 4. 1. 14-17) which describes the Aryan method of land-clearing and settlement to the east of the Sadānīrā ('always with water'), identified with the Gaṇḍaka. As the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, which is pre-Buddhistic, was completed "by 600 B. C., not counting occasional later interpolations"[5] in it, we are led to think that the worship of the śālagrāma stone as a symbol of Vishṇu was in existence in the Vaiśālī region in the great days of the Vajjian Republic and might have been an important contribution of the republican period to the Brahmanical religion of this part of the country.

Let us now turn to the monastic life.

In an important passage of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[6] we have the following list of religious sects, which were contemporaneous with the Buddha:—Ājīvikas, Niganthas, Muṇḍasāvakas, Jaṭilakas, Paribbājakas, Magaṇḍikas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas, Gotamakas and Devadhammikas.[7] Of these

1. In three *Suttas*, *viz.*, *Mahāsamaya-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, pp. 286-291), *Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta* (*Dial.*, III, pp. 195-196, *cf.* pp. 266-267) and *Tevijja-Sutta* (*Dial.*, I, p. 310). The *Brahmajāla-Sutta* (*Dial.*, I, pp. 1 ff) also gives some idea of the Brahmanical religion.

2. Lares and Penates=Sanctities of home, household gods.

3. Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 133, n. 5.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

6. A., III, pp. 276-277.

7. *Dialogues*, I, pp. 220-222. Also J. R. A. S., 1898, p. 197 ('Indian Sects or Schools in the time of Buddha' by T. W. Rhys Davids).

the first two are already known and the third are stated by Buddhaghosha[1] to be the same as the second. Perhaps some special subdivision of the Jainas is intended. The remaining seven appear to be Brahmanical sects. We are supported in our belief by Buddhaghosha in whose opinion Nos. 6-10 are followers of the Titthiyā, that is, the leaders of all schools that were non-Buddhist. And it is much to be regretted that the tradition had not preserved any better explanation of the terms than the vague phrases repeated by Buddhaghosha.[2]

Coming to the Vaiśālī region, we find that of these Brahmanical ascetic systems the Parivrājakas[3] had definitely a centre at Vaiśālī, their other centres being Śrāvastī, Rājagṛiha and Champā.[4] These ascetics and recluses (not otherwise classified) were teachers or sophists who spent their time wandering from place to place for the purpose of engaging in friendly, conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. In most cases they are represented as having large followings, so that they were evidently regarded as distinguished teachers.[5] We know on the authority of the *Mahāvastu*[6] that the Parivrājakas studied the *Vedas* also. The Pali Buddhist literature speaks of two classes of Parivrājakas, *viz.*, Brāhmaṇa Parivrājakas and Aññatitthiya Parivrājakas[7] (*i.e.*, non-Brāhmaṇa or heretical Parivrājakas).[8]

The Pali books mention halls erected for the accommodation of the Parivrājakas. At Vaiśālī there appear to be at least three specific halls or centres for this purpose :—

1. Ekapuṇḍarīka—This paribbājakārāma was the residence of Vachchhagotta. It was near the Kūṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana of Vaiśālī. The Buddha went there to see

1. *Dialogues*, I, p. 221.
2. *Ibid.*
3. See two useful articles of B. C. Law in J. A. S. B. for 1918 and 1925 entitled 'Wandering Teachers in Buddha's Time' and 'Gautama Buddha and the Paribrājakas' respectively.
4. D. P. P. N., II, p. 160.
5. D. P. P. N., II, p. 161.
6. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 419.
7. J. A. S. B., 1925, p. 123.
8. So far we have made general statements concerning the Parivrājakas. Now we turn to the Vaiśālī region.

Vachchhagotta and it was on this occasion that the *Tevijja-Vachchhagotta-Sutta* was preached.[1] This Parivrājaka Vachchhagotta was a native of Rājagṛiha, but seems to have travelled widely, for we find him visiting the Buddha at Vaiśālī,[2] at Śrāvastī[3] and at Ñātikā,[4] in addition to his visits to Rājagṛiha.[5] Buddhaghosha[6] says that the place Ekapuṇḍarīka was so called because in it grew a solitary white mango tree (*setambarukkha*).

2. Pātikārāma[7]—Here Pāṭika's son used to live. It was a centre for intellectual discussions.

3. Tindukkhānu Paribbājakārāma—This dwelling of the Parivrājakas was the residence of Pātikaputta and others. Jāliya, another recluse, also visited it when he wanted to arrange a discussion between the Buddha and Pāṭikaputta at Vaiśālī.[8]

These appear to be only the most important centres and the existence of other Parivrājaka centres cannot be precluded.

These Parivrājakas visited several places in the Vajji country and the *Samyutta-Nikāya*[9] records a discussion which took place at Ñātikā between the Parivrājakas Sabhiya Kachchāna and Vachchhagotta on various questions, such as the existence of the Buddha after death, *etc.* Another Parivrājaka Sāmaṇdaka visited Sāriputta at Ukkāchelā and questioned him on the nibbāna.[10] The introductory portion of a *Jātaka*[11] relates the story of four Lichchhavi sisters, *viz.*, Sachchā, Lolā, Avavādakā and Paṭāchārā, who adopted the Parivrājaka life and were defeated by Sāriputta at Śrāvastī.

1. M, I, pp 481-483.
2. M, I, p 481.
3. M., I, p. 483. S, III, p. 257.
4. S., IV, p 401.
5. M., I, p. 489.
6. M.A, II p 673.
7. *Pāṭika-Sutta* (*Dialogues*, III, pp 16 ff)
8. *Ibid.* Jāliya was a Paribbājaka to whom the Buddha preached the *Jāliya-Sutta* (D, I, pp. 159-160).
9. S, IV, pp 401 ff.
10. S., IV, pp. 261 ff.
11. *Chulla-Kāliṅga-Jātaka* (No. 301) in Vol. III.

The Jaṭilas also, though not so frequently, are met with in the Vajji country. Kappitaka Thera, who lived in Kapinachchanā near Vaiśālī,[1] was at one time a Jaṭila, with a large following of Jaṭilas.[2]

We do not know about the Gotamakas. But from the fact that there was a Gotamaka Chaitya at Vaiśālī, we may presume the existence of this sect at Vaiśālī. This is, however, merely a hypothesis.

From the *Lalitavistara*[3] account of the Buddha's travels after his renunciation of the world, we learn that he was entertained at the hermitage of the Brāhmaṇa woman Śākī, then at that of the Brāhmaṇa woman Padmā, and then by the Brāhmaṇa sage Raivata and by Rājaka, son of Trimaṇḍika, until he reached Vaiśālī and joined Āḷāra. This may indicate that there were many hermits in the Vajji country, especially in the Champakāraṇya area.

MISCELLANEOUS CULTS

The most important non-Aryan element in the religious life of republican Vaiśālī was the cult of Yakshas. The cult of Yakkhas (or Yakshas) seems to have arisen primarily from the woods and secondarily from the legends of seafaring merchants. The worship of trees and the spirits inhabiting them is one of the most primitive forms of religion.[4] The Chaityas of Vaiśālī are regarded as places of Yaksha-worship.[5]

The Nāgas of Vesālī[6] are mentioned in one context. We cannot say whether they were an ethnological group or worshippers of snakes (*nāgas*).

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Some special features of Vajjian religious life are contained in the famous utterance of the Buddha giving the seven conditions for the welfare of the Vajjian republican state:—

1. *Petavatthu*, 50. *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, 229 ff.
2. *Samantapāsādikā*, IV, p. 937. *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, 230.
3. Quoted by Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 3rd ed. reprinted, 1952), pp. 69-70.
4. D. P. P. N., II, p. 675.
5. By the famous commentator, Buddhaghosha (*Dial.*, II, p. 80, notes 2 and 3).
6. *Dialogues*, II, p. 288.

" . . . . .—so long as they (*i.e.*, the Vajjians) honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines[1] in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper."[2]

These lines breathe complete religious toleration.

1. *Chetiyāni*, which the *Sumangalavilāsini* explains as *Yakkha-chetiyāni*.
2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 80.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIETY UNDER THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

SOCIAL CONDITION

As in the preceding age, the society during the period of the Vajjian Republic was divided into four principal classes which had further sub-divisions. These divisions appear to have been well-marked because many cities were named after castes or professions, *e.g.*, Uttara-Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura (after Kshatriyas), Dakshiṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Kuṇḍapura (after Brāhmaṇas), Ñātika (after Jñātis or Jñātṛikas), Bhoganagara (after the Bhogas) and Vāṇijyagrāma ('the village of commerce'). A passage in the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*[1] names the following classes in this order—Ugras, Bhogas, Aikshvākas, Jñātṛis, Kauravas, warriors, Brāhmaṇas, Lichchhavis, commanders and generals. Other passages of the Jaina scriptures add (1) princes, artists[2] and (2) Kshatriyas.[3] These passages may be presumed to refer to the various classes of the Vajjian territory because of the mention of the Ugras, the Bhogas and the Lichchhavis. Artisans such as tailors,[4] gold-smiths and jewellers must have been very muh in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of 7707 rājās or nobles.[5] Barbers are also referred to.[6] There was a good Vaiśya population there.[7] There was a Nāga population also at Vaiśālī.[8]

High social differences and class distinctions were maintained which is proved not only by the three clear-cut divisions

1. S. B. E., 45, p. 339.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
3. *Ibid*, p. 321.
4. *Cf.* the story of a poor tailor of Vaiśālī intent on building himself a house for the Saṅgha (S. B E, 20, p. 190).
5. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 70.
6. *Jātaka* No. 152 (*Sigāla-Jātaka*) in Vol. II.
7. We know how Nābhāga's descendants were de-Kshatriyized and became Vaiśyas.
8. *Dialogues*, II, p. 288.

of the Vaiśālī City but also by a *Jātaka* story[1] which we may summarise here. A barber's son seeing a Lichchhavi girl dressed up fine and grand, like a nymph, fell in love for desire of her. He said to his father about this. He would not touch a morsel of food, but lay down hugging the bedstead. His father found him and said, "Why, son, don't set your mind on forbidden fruit. You are a nobody—a barber's son; this Lichchhavi girl is a highborn lady. You are no match for her. I will find you somebody else, a girl of your own place and station." But the lad would not listen to him or anybody else. At last he died. When this was reported to the Buddha, he narrated a story in which a jackal falling in love with a lioness told her of his love and lost life due to her eldest brother.

About the marriage rites of the Lichchhavis, it is said in the Tibetan books that there were rules restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī, to that city alone. They state: "The people of Vaiśālī had made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second or third; that the one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and second; but that one born in the last district could marry in any one of the three; moreover, that no marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī"[2].

A passage in the *Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa*[3] indicates that a Lichchhavi who wanted to marry could ask the corporation or the Lichchhavigaṇa to select a suitable bride for him. Violation of chastity was considered a serious offence among the Lichchhavis and the assembly would even give its consent to a husband's request that his unfaithful wife should be murdered.[4] The Buddha himself was a great admirer of the female chastity of the Vajjians.[5]

A strange custom is mentioned in a Buddhist text[6] which says that the Vaiśālikas made a rule to the effect that daughters

1. *Jātaka* No. 152.
2. Rockhill, p. 62.
3. *Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa*, II, *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225.
4. *Ibid.*
5. S. B. E., 11, pp. 3-4 (*Dialogues*, II, p. 80).
6. *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 20th, p. 38.

of individuals should be enjoyed by gaṇas and should not therefore be married. This is unbelievable and the great beauty of prostitutes in this republican town might have led people to think like that. The fact that Vaiśālī had this institution is attested to by the *Mahāvagga*[1] as well where Ambapālī is mentioned as an instance. This institution was copied from Vaiśālī and introduced at Rājagṛiha, the Magadhan capital.[2]

The strength of the Lichchhavis lay in their great unity. If one Lichchhavi fell ill, all the others would visit him. The whole tribe would join in any ceremony performed in the house of a Lichchhavi, and they would all unite in honouring any distinguished visitors to their city.[3]

They were fond of festivals and such activities. It is stated in the *Dulva*[4] that there were continuous festivities among the Lichchhavis. Of them Chhaṇa and Sabbarattivāro were the most important. At the Sabbarattivāro or Sabbaratticharo festival, songs were sung, trumpets, drums, and other musical instruments were used,[5] flags were flown, kings, princes and commanders-in-chief took part in the festival and spent the whole night in merry-making.[6]

The Lichchhavis used to kill animals on the 8th, 14th and 15th days of the lunar months and eat their flesh.[7]

The Lichchhavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.[8] They were compared by the Buddha with the Tāvatiṁsa gods.[9] They wore brilliantly coloured garments and rode in brightly painted carriages.[10]

1. S. B. E., 17, p. 171.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 171-172.
3. D. A., II, p. 519.
4. Rockhill, p. 63.
5. S., I, p. 201.
6. *Dh A*. III, p. 460; also pp. 279-280. Also see *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 63 and *Theragāthā Commentary*, V. 62.
7. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 136 This was done as enjoined in the *Dharmaśāstras*.
8. Watters, II, p. 79.
9. D., II, pp. 96-97. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 280. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 262.
10. D., II, p. 96. A., III, p. 239. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 259-261. B. C. Law gives summaries of these references (*Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 61-63).

The young men among the Lichchhavis were evidently fond of archery, for mention is made[1] of large numbers of them roving about in the Mahāvana, with bows and arrows, the strings set, and surrounded by hounds. They were a martial people and fond of sport. Once at the Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vaiśālī Ānanda saw Lichchhavi youths practising archery, shooting through even a small keyhole without a miss.[2] The young Vajjians appear to have been in the habit of training elephants.[3] The existence of forests like Mahāvana, Gosiṅgasālavana and Avarapura-Vanasaṇḍa[4] must have contributed much to such activities. Though prosperous and rich, the Lichchhavis do not appear to have lived in luxury and idleness. They are, on the contrary, spoken of[5] as sleeping on straw couches, being strenuous and diligent and zealous in their service.[6]

Theft was almost unknown among the Lichchhavis as a passage in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* indicates.[7]

The Lichchhavis disposed of their dead bodies either by cremation or by burial or by exposure[8]. V. A. Smith[9] thinks that this practice of exposure was borrowed from Tibet where it is prevalent. But this view has been successfully refuted.[10]

EDUCATION

The Lichchhavi youths went to distant countries for education. We read of a Lichchhavi named Mahāli who went to Takshaśilā to learn *śilpa* or arts and returned home after completing his education. It is said that he in his turn trained as many as five hundred Lichchhavis who also, when educated, took up the same task and in this way education spread far and wide among the Lichchhavis.[11]

1. A., III, pp. 75-76.
2. S., V, pp. 453 ff.
3. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 106.
4. M., I, p. 68 (*Mahāsīhanāda-Sutta*).
5. S., II, pp. 267 ff.
6. As skilful hardy archers, says the Commentary.
7. *Vin.*, IV, pp. 225-226.
8. *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, pp. 159-160.
9. I. A., 1903, pp. 233-234.
10. S. N. Singh, p. 41, n.
11. *Dh. A.*, I, p. 337. Fausböll, *Dhammapada* (old ed.), p. 211.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

If the traditional descriptions of Vaiśālī[1] have any value, they seem to indicate that this city was opulent, prosperous and populous. It was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, and one could very well earn one's living by gleaning or through favour.[2]

We do not possess many facts of economic significance. But one remarkable custom was that the Lichchhavis used to take over the heirless property[3] in their dominions.

Another source of income to the State was the tax collected at the gates of Vaiśālī. The income of the western gate which was one lac had been given to Mahāli.[4] The figure (one lac), however, seems traditional.

Agriculture as usual was the chief occupation. But trade and commerce also appear to have played a considerable part in this republican State.[5] River traffic and road traffic were particularly useful from this point of view. Vaiśālī was connected with the Ganges by the Gaṇḍaka. Sahajāti was on the river (? Ganges) and the Vajjiputtakas went there from Vaiśālī by boat.[6] Although this refers to the second Buddhist council (387 B.C.), we may presume that the route was ancient. As a matter of fact, the Ganges formed one of the most important means of communication and trade for the districts through which it flowed, *e.g.*, from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī.[7] The Ganges had to be crossed between Rājagṛiha and Śrāvastī by boat, some of the boats belonging to the king of Magadha and others to the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī[8] which lay on the road from Rāja-

1. See the *Mahāvagga* (VIII. 1. 1. 1) in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* and the *Lalitavistara* (ch. 3, p. 21).

2. The Chinese pilgrims who came much later testify to the productive character of the land.

3. I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline* (*Vinaya-Piṭaka*), Vol. I (London, 1949), p. 32.

4. *Dh. A.*, I, p. 338. Quoted in D. P. P. N., II, p. 551.

5. "It is a common phenomenon in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power, they still retained their commercial intelligence and turned into traders" (*Hindu Polity*, p. 54).

6. *Vin.*, II, pp. 299, 301. *Mahāvaṁsa*, IV. 23-28.

7. There lay a road from Vaiśālī to Rājagṛiha (*Vin.*, II, pp. 210-211).

8. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 55-56.

gṛiha to Śrāvastī.[1] There was a road which connected Ukkaṭṭhā (a town in Kosala near the Himālayas)[2] with Setavvyā[3] and with Vaiśālī.[4] From Vaiśālī lay a direct road to Kapilavastu[5] whence a number of Śākya ladies came to receive ordination from the Master who at that time was staying at the Kūṭāgāra hall in the Mahāvana.[6] The pupils of Bāvarī, when they proceeded from Śrāvastī, passed through Setavvyā, Kapilavastu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara and Vaiśālī, while going to Rājagṛiha.[7]

1 *Vin.*, II, pp. 159 ff. The route from Rājagṛiha to Śrāvastī is stated in a late Buddhist Sanskrit text to be infested with thieves who used to rob the merchants of their merchandise (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 94-95).

2. Ukkaṭṭhā was thickly populated and had much grassland, woodland and corn (D., I, p. 87; D. A., I, p. 245).

3. A., II, p. 37.

4. J., II, p. 259.

5. *Vin.*, II, p. 253.

6. *Vin.*, III, pp. 321 ff.

7. For the account see *Sutta-Nipāta*, P. T. S., verses 976-1148 (esp. 1011-1015).

CHAPTER XIX

THE FALL OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The sovereign Vajjian Republic was destroyed as the result of a war which Ajataśatru (495-463 B C), the king of Magadha, waged against it

CAUSES OF WAR

There were many causes of war between the Vajjian Republic and Ajataśatru, some being primary and others contributory

Ajatasatru s mother was Vaidehi, *i e*, a princess from Videha or Vaisali (Chellanā according to the Jaina tradition) Chellana s father was Chetaka, the leader of the Vajjian Republic for a long time But it cannot be expected tha the man whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life, would show any tender feeling towards his mother's relations [1] On the other hand, he must have felt from the very beginning that the Lichchhavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will strike at these Vajjians mighty and powerful[2] though they be, I will root out these Vajjians I will destroy these Vajjians I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin !" [3]

The objective of Ajatasatru, as also of his father Bimbisāra, was to gain control of as much of the Ganges river system as possible [4] The importance of the rivers, in an India where

1 Law, *Kshatriya Clans* p 130

2 According to the Commentator the Vajjians were mighty because of their power of union and practice in military tactics (*Dialogues*, II, p 78, n 2)

3 *Dialogues*, II p 78 (the same also in S B E, 11, pp 1-2)—*Mahāparinibbaṇa Sutta* (beginning)

4 A L Basham 'Ajatasattu s War with the Lichchhavis', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress for Jaipur*, 1951 (Calcutta, 1953), p 40 ' It may be possible to trace the same objective later, motivating the campaigns of Samudra Gupta, Śaśanka and Dharmapāla—the king in possession of the lower course aiming at control of the whole river system" (*ibid*)

population was smaller, roads were bad, and jungle more widespread, need hardly be emphasized.[1] Bimbisāra's acquisition of Aṅga, with its wealthy river-port of Champā, where, if we are to believe the Pali accounts, an already flourishing trade with the south brought gold, jewels and spices, was perhaps a necessary preliminary to the further expansion of Magadha, providing the wealth with which he financed his policy of internal administration and his son (Ajātaśatru) his aggressive wars. Of these the war with Kosala seems to have given Magadha control of a further length of the river, while from the war with the Vajjis she gained a foothold north of the Ganges, and thus controlled both its banks.[2]

It is perhaps significant that according to the Buddhist story the war with the Vajjis arose over a dispute in a river-port which was half controlled by Ajātaśatru and half by the Vajjis.[3] In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[4] we find that there was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātaśatru and half to the Lichchhavis and their orders were obeyed in their respective areas. There was a mountain not far from it and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious gems or some fragrant material (? *gandhabhaṇḍa*). Ajātaśatru was late in coming there and the Lichchhavis took away all the precious gems. When Ajātaśatru came and learnt that all the precious gems had been taken away by the avaricious Lichchhavis, he grew angry and left the place. This happened also in the succeeding year. He having sustained a heavy loss thought that there must be a fight between him and the Lichchhavis.[5]

The Vajjians, it seems, attacked Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, many times. They used to oust Pāṭaligāma people from their homes and occupy them for a month or half

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, P. T. S., II, p. 516. *Cf.* A. A., II, p. 705.
5. *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 131-132. P. H. A. I., pp. 211-212. D. P. P. N., II, pp. 781-782. We do not know where the said river-port was. Was the port Pāṭaligāma (see *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, P. T. S., p. 408)? There are rocks in the Ganges at two places, *viz.*, (1) Jahangira near Sultanganj, between Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and (2) Colgong (Kahalgaon), east of Bhagalpur, both being in the Bhagalpur district. Was one of these rocks a point of contention ?

a month.[1] This harassed the people of Pāṭaligāma and also Ajātaśatru. And so it was that in order to baffle the attempts of the Vajjians, two of his ministers, *viz.*, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, built a fort at Pāṭaligāma.[2]

The death of Bimbisāra (in 495 B.C.) seems to have given a further fillip to the already deteriorating relation between Magadha and the Vajjis. Bimbisāra had no doubt fought against the Vajjis, but after the treaty was made the friendly relations thus restored seem to have continued till the end of his life. One of his wives was from Vaiśālī (called Chellanā or Vaidehī) whose sons included Ajātaśatru (the Crown Prince), Halla and Vehalla. He had also a son, Abhaya, by Ambapālī, a courtesan of Vaiśālī. These factors helped in the maintenance of good relations. But Ajātaśatru was suspicious of his foster-brother, Abhaya, who had Lichchhavi blood in him and liked the Lichchhavis very much. At this time the Lichchhavis were gaining strength day by day and Ajātaśatru thought that if Abhaya sided with them it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Lichchhavis. So he made up his mind to do away with them.

That the relations between the Vajjians and Magadha deteriorated with the death of Bimbisāra is hinted at in Jaina literature. King Seṇiya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyaṇaga (Sechanaka, the Sprinkler), together with a large necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellanā, the daughter of 'Rājā' Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paümāvaī (Padmāvatī), demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their maternal grand-father Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Cheṭaka.[3]

1. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 491, n. 1 (*Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, VIII. 6).
2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 92 (also in S. B. E., 11, p. 18).
3. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 7. *Cf.* Tawney, *Kathākosha*, pp. 176 ff.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Ajātaśatru had long been making preparations in order to destroy the Vajjians.

He thought it prudent to consult the Buddha on this point and with this end in view sent his minister Varshakāra to the Master. The Buddha apparently scorned the idea because instead of Varshakāra he spoke to his disciple Ānanda about the seven conditions of welfare which made the Vajjians invincible. The Brāhmaṇa minister Varshakāra concluded that the Vajjians could not be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance. "And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy and have much to do" said Varshakāra. "Whatever you think most fitting, O Brāhmaṇa" was the Master's reply.[1]

Having learnt the secret of the strength of the Vajjians Ajātaśatru planned his preparations in two directions. Firstly, he took up the military side. A fort was constructed at Pāṭaligāma, which was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, by his ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra. When the Buddha was passing through this place on his last journey, he saw this thing going on.[2] Ajātaśatru improved his military tactics also by introducing the use of two new weapons[3] into his army. Secondly, he made up his mind to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vajjians and thus bring about their fall.[4] The *Aṭṭhakathā* gives an account of the

1. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 78-81. For a new evaluation of this episode see Dev Raj Chanana, J. B. R. S., Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, pp. 363-371, article entitled 'The Position of the Buddha in the Conflict between Magadha and the Vajjis'. He believes "that the policy decided upon by the king was a direct consequence of the remarks of the Buddha himself," because "the Buddha did not condemn war, did not say anything in favour of a policy of peace, of non-violence" (p. 365). He sees in the "spiritual emperor", who wanted the cremation of his body to "be like the cremation of the body of a chakkavattī rājā" (p. 370), "partisanship towards the king" and "absence of neutrality" (p. 365) in the Magadha-Vajjian conflict, especially because even during his "last visit, the Buddha did not warn the Lichchhavis of the impending danger" (p. 365, *cf.* p. 367), though "he had nothing against the Vajjis in general, and against the Lichchhavis in particular" (p. 365).

2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 92.

3. See *infra*.

4. *Cf. Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 12: "The Vajjians cannot be overcome in battle, but only by cunning, by breaking up their alliance".

Machiavellian tactics adopted by this Brāhmaṇa statesman of Magadha.[1]

When the Vajjians knew that they had to face Magadhan imperialism, they, too, made preparations though of a different kind. In the *Nirayāvaliyā-Sutta* it is related that when Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī, the latter called together the eighteen gaṇarājas (chiefs of republican clans) of Kāśī and Kosala, together with the nine Mallakis and the nine Lichchhavis[2] and an alliance was concluded. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*.[3] H. C. Raychaudhuri thus finds no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāśī-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāśī-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan War and the Vajjian War were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha.[4] The flames fused together into one big conflagration[5] and gave rise to "a widespread league of the tribal peoples north of the Ganges, no doubt uneasy at the growing imperialist ambition" of the ruler of Magadha, and "determined to preserve their own

1. S. N. Singh (p. 43, n) furnishes the relevant portion in his book and so does Rahula Sankrityayana (*Buddhacharyā*, pp. 486-487, note). Also see D. P. P. N., II, p. 846; *Modern Rsview*, July, 1919, pp. 55-56 and J. R. A. S., 1931.

2. P. H. A. I., p. 212.

3. M., II, p. 101.

4. A. L. Basham (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-40) has tried to offer a possible explanation of the eighteen gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kosala that would link them with Viḍūḍabha's devastation of the Śākyas and his death soon afterwards. The drowning of Viḍūḍabha (who was the son and successor of Prasenajit of Kosala) immediately after his destruction of the Śākyas is interpreted by Basham as his being killed while trying to subdue other subordinate tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom. He suggests that these tribes, unwilling to accept Viḍūḍabha's suzerainty and incensed at his destruction of the Śākyas, took advantage of his death to throw off all allegiance, and allied themselves with the strongest tribal republic of the region, the Vajjis or Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.

5. The whole passage has been taken from Raychaudhuri (P. H. A. I., pp. 212-213) as it contains nice suggestions. He adds in a foot-note (p. 213, n. 1) that even Pradyota of Avanti made preparations to avenge the death of his friend Bimbisāra (D. P. P. N., I, p. 34).

constitutions and way of life, which they saw were seriously threatened."[1]

WAR BETWEEN VAIŚĀLĪ AND MAGADHA

The war between the Vajjians and Ajātaśatru began and the *Nirayāvaliyā* speaks of a great battle in which many of Ajātaśatru's brothers were killed.[2] The story is continued by the *Bhagavati-Sūtra*, which speaks of two great battles. The first lasted ten days, and on each day the Magadhan army lost one of its generals, shot by Cheṭaka. On the eleventh day Ajātaśatru threw in a secret weapon, presented to him by the god Indra himself—a *mahāśilākanṭaka*, which from its description seems to have been a great stone-thrower. This turned the scales. The second battle had a similar course, and Ajātaśatru's fortunes were turned in the nick of time by another wonderful weapon, a chariot-club (*rathamushala*), which caused great carnage.[3] The story is carried yet further by the early medieval commentator Jinadāsa Gaṇī in his *Chūrṇi* to the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*. The ruling body of the confederacy described here and elsewhere in the Jaina scriptures as the nine Lichchhavis, the nine Mallakis and the eighteen tribal chieftains (gaṇarājas) of Kāśī and Kosala, broke up. The confederate chieftains went home, and Cheṭaka, forced to fight alone, retreated to Vaiśālī, where he was besieged for several years. The Lichchhavis had a living palladium in Kūlapālaka (or Kūlavāluka), a famous ascetic whose piety and austerities rendered the city impregnable. But Ajātaśatru lured him to break his vows by means of a beautiful prostitute, and so the city fell. Cheṭaka drowned himself in a well and the remnant of the Lichchhavis fled to Nepal.[4] The story which is told very elliptically by Jinadāsa, is expanded[5] in a

1. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The wording has been slightly modified to suit the context here.

2. *Nirayāvalikā-Sūtra*, ed. A. S. Gopani and V. J. Chokshi, Ahmedabad, 1935, pp. 19 ff.

3. *Bhagavati-Sūtra* (in 3 Vols., Bombay, 1918-1921), *sūtras* 299 ff.

4. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra with Chūrṇi of Jinadāsa Gaṇi* (in 2 Vols., Ratlam, 1928-1929), Vol. II, pp. 172 ff.

5. *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, Vol. III, *s. v.* Kūlavālaya.

Commentary to the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* quoted in the Jaina encyclopaedia *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*.[1]

The Buddhist and Jaina versions disagree in many important details. The Buddhist version means to say that the victory was achieved mainly because of the conspiracy of Varshakāra. The Jaina version on the other hand describes a protracted and difficult warfare. Reading in between the lines we are compelled to believe that "the easy victory superficially indicated by the Buddhist story was evidently preceded by a period of protracted and difficult warfare".[2]

The Magadha-Vajjian War is important not only because it put an end to the mighty Vajjian Republic but also because in it Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of two new weapons *viz.*, the *mahāśilākaṇṭaka* (*mahāsilākaṇṭaga*) and the *rathamushala* (*rahamusala*). The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.[3] In the acceptance of the historicity of the latter weapon (which was a battering ram) there is no difficulty. The catapult is more difficult however, in the opinion of Basham,[4] because we have no record of the use of war-engines for the discharge of large missiles in Asia until the days of Alexander. Even then, Basham feels, the Jaina story may be taken to indicate that as in civil so in military affairs the Magadha of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru outstripped its contemporaries.

THE FALL OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The Vajjian Republic was a very powerful organisation, but its enemy, Ajātaśatru, was very astute and cunning. He faced the Republic on both the diplomatic and military fronts. He was successful in sowing the seeds of disunion among the Lichchhavis through Varshakāra and on the strategic military

1. The Magadha-Vajjian War is given in brief by Basham (*op. cit.*, p. 38) and in some detail by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya (*Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvira*, Vol II, Part II, pp. 463-473).

2. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

3. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, pp. 59-60. *Kathākosha*, p. 179.

4. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

front he erected a fort at Pāṭaligāma and, if the Jaina version is believed, arranged to have two wonderful weapons which finally decided the issue. Some sort of degeneration must have set in earlier among the Lichchhavis because we find reference[1] to their earlier austere habits and to their later fondness for soft pillows, long sleep and other luxuries. Their power and prosperity were probably also weakened by the plague and drought which had ravaged Vaiśālī. But the most important cause seems to have been the lack of unity which was a general weakness of ancient Indian republics and against which the *Mahābhārata*[2] warned its readers. The result was inevitable. The independent Vajjian Republic ended,[3] never to rise again to its pristine glory.

1. S., II, p. 268. See also *Dh. A.*, III, p. 280, where they quarrel over a woman. *Cf. Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 284.

2. *Mbh*, XII. 107. *Cf. Hindu Polity*, pp. 103-108.

3. In view of the conflicting traditions of the Buddhists and the Jainas, it is difficult to determine the date of the fall of the Vajjian Republic. We have tentatively taken 484 B. C., *i. e.*, three years after the Buddha's last visit to Vaiśālī, on the authority of Buddhaghosha (D. A., II, p. 522).

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34, n. 5	Gomati	Gomatī
69, line 16	inspite	in spite
71, n. 4	Karūśa	Karūsha
75, line 3	that, when	that. When
79, line 18	principle	principal
93, n. 4	*Clan*	*Clans*
108, line 22	was	were
110, line 17	*Pujāvaliya*	*Pūjāvaliya*
123, n. 1	1957	1958
127, line 29	*Pujāvaliya*	*Pūjāvaliya*
129, n. 6	Kāsī	Kāśī
174, n. 8	*Dial.*	*Dial.*, II
183, n. 8	ites	sites
188, line 28	ore	more
191, line 2	gga	Ugga
191, line 3	ome	some
193, n. 3	Lichchhav is	Lichchhavis
203, line 14	details	details.
226, last but one line	अथास्मि	अथास्मिन्
226, last line	कुण्डपुर	कुण्डपुरं
231, line 15	hewas	he was

This list may not be regarded as exhaustive.